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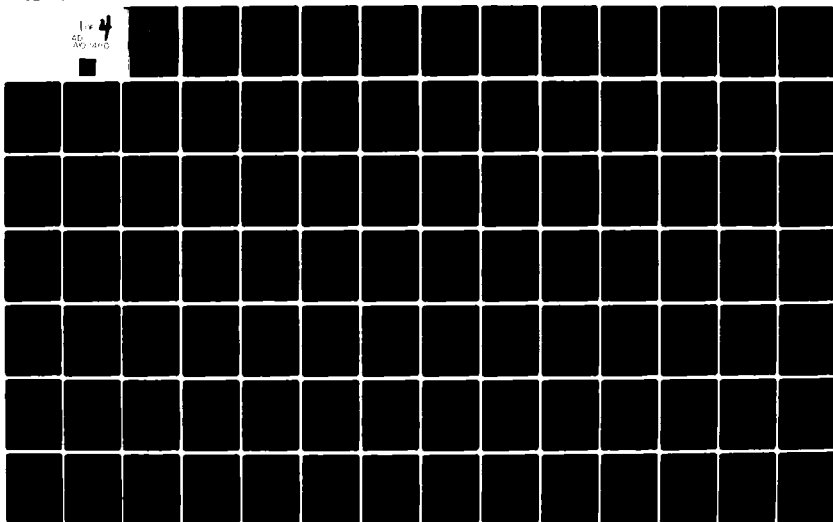
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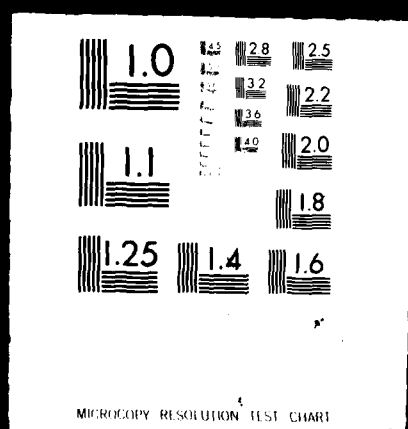
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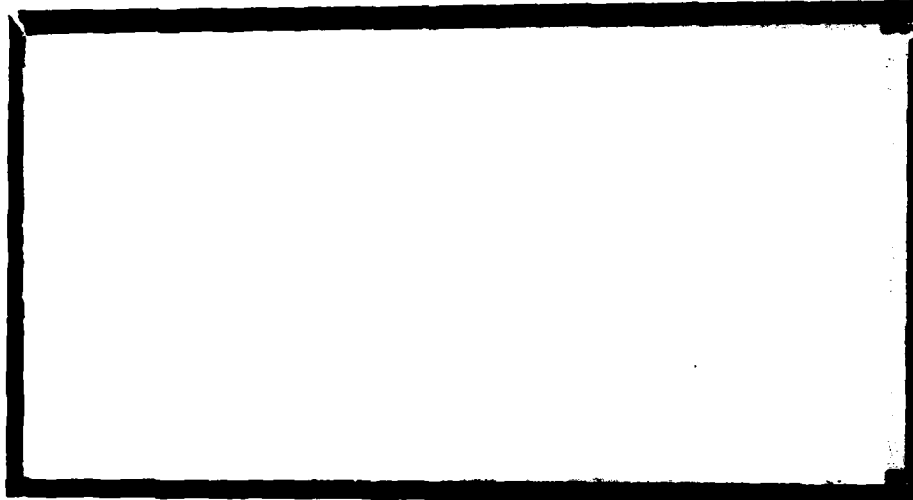
AN EXAMINATION OF HISPANIC AND GENERAL POPULATION
PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

(Larry C. Triandis, Principal Investigator)

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Interpersonal Relations Among Hispanics
in the United States:
A Content Analysis of the Social Science Literature

Judith Lisansky
University of Illinois

Technical Report No. 3

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→ highly relevant to interpersonal relations. Topics covered include thought patterns, basic value orientations, aspects of identification and social differentiations. The literature indicates that there is little consensus on many of the dimensions explored and suggests numerous hypotheses for further research. Some authors argue for sub-cultural differences, others assert that major changes are occurring, and still others warn against attributing specific cultural attributes to Hispanics. Similarities and differences among the various Hispanic groups were also examined, focusing primarily on Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans.

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Introduction

The goal of this project was to conduct an exhaustive literature review of the social science materials relating to Hispanic culture in the United States with a special focus on interpersonal relations. The task was delimited by selecting a time frame of literature produced between 1960 and 1981, although some earlier classic works, such as Julian Steward's *The People of Puerto Rico* (1956), have also been included. The original plan was to cover completely the available anthropological data base and to also include relevant work from political science, psychology, sociology, education and a number of other fields. Fiction and poetry were not included because of time constraints. It is important to note at the outset that although this review is relatively comprehensive, it does not claim to be exhaustive. A burgeoning interest in Hispanics has resulted in a tremendous increase in the quantity of published materials on the topic over the past 15 years. A multidisciplinary review of *all* published materials on Hispanics would probably take far longer than the one year allocated to this project.

The growing importance of Hispanics as one of the largest minority groups in the United States is well-documented. U.S. Census figures released in October, 1979 gave the total Spanish origin population of the country as 12.1 million. Of these 7.3 million were of Mexican origin, 1.7 million of Puerto Rican origin, 0.8 million of Cuban origin, 0.8 million of Central or South American origin, and 1.4 million were labelled as Other Spanish origin. Preliminary data released from the 1980 Census (La Red/The Net, March, 1981) indicate that the Spanish origin population is now approximately 14.6 million, constituting 6.4% of the total U.S. population. Even these figures are sometimes challenged by experts who claim that Hispanics in the United States are grossly undercounted. For example, some estimates of illegal aliens, many of whom are Hispanic, range from 3 to 6 million persons (The Christian Science Monitor, March 2, 1981). Some experts estimate that Hispanics will soon

approach 10% of the U.S. population and that by 1990 the number of Hispanics in the United States will exceed the number of Blacks.

A brief historical sketch shows us that the Spanish-speaking were among the first inhabitants of the Southwestern United States. When the United States obtained the Southwestern territory from Mexico, in 1898 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, there were approximately 75,000 Spanish-speaking persons in the region (McWilliams, 1974/1948:52). The first major wave of Mexican immigration occurred in the 1920s. This was significantly slowed during the Great Depression. The second major wave occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, thus making a significant portion of Mexican Americans relatively recent immigrants to the United States (Grebler et al., 1970:10). Geographically, Mexican Americans are concentrated in the Southwestern states and California, although significant numbers can be found in the Midwest as well. A common misconception regarding Mexican Americans is that they are predominantly rural and tend to be farmworkers. Actually, the reverse is true. The 1979 Census report shows that 80.3% of all Mexican Americans now reside in metropolitan areas.

The migratory flow of Puerto Ricans to the United States mainland started in 1898 after the annexation of the island of Puerto Rico by the United States. By 1930, Puerto Ricans on the mainland numbered approximately 53,000. The majority of Puerto Rican immigration occurred after World War II and reached a peak in the early 1950s (Fitzpatrick, 1971:10-11). Some of the early migrants came as farmworkers, but the major flow has been to urban centers. The 1979 Census report shows that 95.8% of persons of Puerto Rican origin in the United States reside in metropolitan areas.

Fitzpatrick (1971:50) notes that, in general, Puerto Rican immigrants to the mainland came from the poorer though not poorest segments of the island society. Migration research, such as data collected by Sandis (1980), indicates that most Puerto Ricans came to the mainland because they wanted to improve

their lot. However, as Fitzpatrick notes for New York, the Puerto Ricans are occupationally and educationally the poorest segment of the New York population. The links between mainland Puerto Ricans and the island remain close and complex. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:99-100) point out that the Puerto Rican relationship to their homeland is quite different than the relationship of earlier migrant groups to their homelands.

Cuban immigration to the United States did occur in rather small numbers prior to the Castro era, such as to the Tampa area, but the majority of the Cuban influx occurred after the January, 1959 assumption of power by Fidel Castro. As Gil (1976:21) points out, this makes Cubans the newest, numerically significant foreign minority to enter the United States; in contrast to U.S. Census figures, Gil places the Cuban population in the United States at somewhat more than one million persons. These figures, of course, do not include the very latest influx of Cubans from Mariel. In general, analysts provide four phases of Cuban immigration (not counting the most recent phase): (1) a smaller number who left shortly before and after January, 1959; (2) those who came between 1959 and 1960; (3) those who left after the Bay of Pigs, 1961 to October, 1962 when the Cuban Missile Crisis occurred and Castro stopped the outflow (9,500 still managed to leave between 1961 and the end of 1965), and (4) after 1965 when the air flights were resumed (Rogg, 1974:7-8).

The majority of writers on Cubans point out that the Cuban refugees differ in some fundamental ways from other immigrants. One important point is that Cubans are defined as political exiles, and were pushed rather than pulled to the United States (Portes, 1969:506, Rogg and Cooney, 1980:1). Some basic characteristics of Cubans identified by Pérez (1980:258) include that they tend to be of higher class, are predominantly white, have a larger percentage of elderly, and have concentrated in Miami and a few other urban areas. The 1979 Census report shows that 97.6% of persons of Cuban origin reside in

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metropolitan areas; this is the highest percentage of any Hispanic group. Other authors, especially those writing more recently, further note that the characteristics of Cuban immigrants have changed over time. For example, Portes (1980:206) notes that in recent times the class composition of the Cuban exiles has shifted from predominantly middle-class to an increasing number of workers. Lower-class immigrants include larger numbers of darker-skinned individuals as well.

Space does not permit a more complete discussion of the historical perspective of the Hispanic peoples of the United States. The reader interested in the history of Mexican Americans is referred to Carey McWilliams' (1974/1948) *North From Mexico*, Rodolfo Acuna's (1981) *Occupied America: History of Chicanos*, and Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera's (1972) *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans*. Introductory historical materials in English on Puerto Rico include an excellent summary in Julian Steward et al. (1956) *The People of Puerto Rico*, and a brief summary in Joseph Fitzpatrick's (1971) *Puerto Rican Americans*. More in depth discussions are to be found in Gordon K. Lewis' (1963) *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Adalberto and James Petras (editors) (1974) *Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans: Studies in History and Society*, and Henry Wells' (1969) *The Modernization of Puerto Rico*. Historical materials on Cuban immigration to the United States can be found in Lourdes Casal and Andres R. Hernandez's (1975) *Cubans in the U.S.: A Survey of the Literature*, Richard R. Fagan et al. (1968) *Cubans in Exile*, and Eleanor Rogg's (1974) *The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles*. Excellent summary articles on all the Hispanic groups can be found in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980).

The focus of this literature review was an examination of what social scientists had observed and analyzed with regard to the effects of Hispanic culture on social behavior in general and interpersonal relations in particular.

As such, this review does not examine the political economy of Hispanics, nor do we attempt to explore history in depth. The goal of this literature review was to investigate what researchers had said about the effects of culture on cognition, values, social organization and social attributions. Works which treated these subjects were favored over works which did not. Furthermore, the complex topic of the nature and dynamics of Hispanic interaction with the larger society is touched on only peripherally in this review; our focus was on intragroup dynamics.

It is also important to note that many social scientists have expressed reservations and criticisms of the social science literature on Hispanics in the United States. For example, a recent *Research Bulletin* (January, 1981) from the Hispanic Research Center at Fordham University observed: "Even though the volume of research on Hispanics has recently increased, the research remains of low quality and the findings are fragmented and contradictory." Another example is the sharp criticism of research on values; this criticism is reviewed in the section on values.

This review of the literature does not purport to argue for one particular perspective. As far as was possible, we have tried to present a diversity of perspectives as represented in the literature. We have tried to present both sides of the major debates on issues in social science research on Hispanics. Both findings and criticism of findings are presented. As a further check, we have provided a quality control analysis which illustrates at a glance some of the basic characteristics of the books and articles consulted in this review. Each work utilized in this review was judged on series of criteria - for example, field of study, methodology employed, characteristics of the sample, time period of the study, and so forth - which illustrate certain characteristics of the data base. The quality control tables on pages 10-13 can be consulted by the interested reader.

The materials in the ethnographic and other accounts were rich and varied and covered a multitude of topics. This presented certain problems of organization. After several months of research, Triandis (1981) proposed that the project utilize a framework of a series of dimensions of intercultural variation which have been found to have important implications for interpersonal behavior. These dimensions, listed below, are universal or etic categories which can be investigated in any culture; it is posited that these dimensions will ultimately facilitate the investigation of cross-cultural similarities and differences.

DIMENSIONS OF CULTURAL VARIATION

I. PATTERNS OF THOUGHT

- A. Ideologism vs. Pragmatism
- B. Associative vs. Abstractive

II. VALUES

- A. Mastery-Harmony-Subjugation to Nature
- B. Past-Present-Future Time Orientation
- C. Doing-Being in Becoming - Being Activity Orientation
- D. Individualism vs. Collectivism
- E. Uncertainty Avoidance
- F. Masculinity vs. Femininity

III. BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

- A. Contact vs. No Contact Cultures

IV. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

- A. Self Concept (using the Semantic Differential EPA)
- B. Identification With
- C. Ingroup - Outgroup Definitions

V. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

- A. Power Distance
- B. Sex
- C. Age
- D. Family
- E. Language
- F. Religion
- G. Race
- H. Caste
- I. Nationality

It is assumed that all cultures vary on these and probably other dimensions. For example, it is assumed that all cultures manifest a predominant value orientation with regard to time (II B), that is, each culture will have a temporal focus on the past, the present or the future. This is not to say that a culture concentrates on only one time perspective to the exclusion of the other two, but rather that the rank order or differential emphases can be determined. For example, a society with the future in first order position can have the present in second order position; conversely a society with the present in first order position can have the future in second order position.

Another example of intercultural variation is in the area of social differentiation. It is assumed that cultures vary in terms of attributes selected for social differentiation. In other words, in one culture the members pay a great deal of attention to the sex of the other person whereas in another culture sex is less important but race may be an exceptionally important social attribute. Previous research (e.g. Triandis, 1967) showed that members of different cultures vary in terms of the kinds of attributes of others - such as age, sex, color or religion - they pay the most attention to and use in constructing their evaluations of other people. A more detailed explanation of the meaning and implications of each dimension is provided in the introductory statement which precedes each section of the review.

Another aspect of the dimensions is that they seek to organize material at a rather high level of generalization. It is clear that any cultural group, no matter how small, will show internal variation or heterogeneity. The fact of internal heterogeneity appears to be particularly the case for Hispanics in the United States and is emphasized by many authors. For example, Gonzalez (1967:58), Grebler et al. (1970:8), Peñalosa (1970:41) and Rivera (1970:47) all emphasize the point that Mexican Americans are an extremely heterogeneous population. Almost thirty years ago Saunders (1954:42) asserted

that Mexican Americans can not be assumed to be culturally homogeneous, and more recently Duran and Bernard (1973:235) state that it is very difficult to speak of a single Chicano culture. Similarly, Safa (1974:3), Padilla (1964/1958:49), Mintz (1966:354-371) and Steward (1956:11) all emphasize the heterogeneity of the Puerto Rican population, both on the island and in the United States. Steward specifically warns against assuming "behavioral uniformities" and Mintz asserts that "any attempt to describe Puerto Ricans as if their culture were homogeneous means treading on risky ground."

The fact of internal heterogeneity, however, does not mean that certain patterns, values or characteristic ways of perceiving the world, can not be posited for the group as a whole. Certain patterns are discernable even if the meaning and/or intensity of the patterns varies within a given population. When we posit that a cultural group has some attribute we obviously do not mean that every person in that group has it or to the same degree. For example, when stating that France is Roman Catholic we recognize that there are substantial numbers of Protestants, Jews, Agnostics, Atheists, Anti-Clerics, and others in France. All we mean to say is that large numbers of French are Catholic. Thus, if one meets a Frenchman and assumes that he is Catholic one is likely to be wrong less frequently than if other assumptions are made. In other words, we are looking for dominant trends and recurring patterns.

The ethnographic and other materials consulted for this literature review were content analyzed using the framework of the above mentioned dimensions as a guide. Statements and conclusions, whether contradictory or not, which were relevant to a particular dimension were entered on ledger sheets kept for each dimension. Separate ledger sheets were kept for Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Hispanics (generally research on Central and South American immigrants) for two main reasons. One was that social scientists usually conduct research on only one ethnic group at a time. Secondly, we

wanted to maximize the possibility of comparing and contrasting the various Hispanic cultures. Additional ledger sheets were created during the content analysis to keep track of topics which occurred regularly in the literature, such as critiques of the research on basic value orientations, or discussions of internal heterogeneity and change. The paper which follows, then, is based on this content analysis.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Each dimension is treated in a separate section. Each section is composed of two parts, an introductory and summary statement, and a discussion of the literature. The introduction to each section contains a discussion of the meaning and implications of the dimension and a brief summary of what the literature on Hispanics had to say with regard to that dimension. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the literature with respect to the dimension under discussion. In most cases the discussion begins with a consideration of the literature on Mexican Americans, moves on to consider Puerto Ricans, then Cubans and finally treats the literature on Hispanics. The material reviewed under the category "Hispanic" is either research on Central and South American immigrants, or articles and books which treated all Hispanic groups in the United States. The majority of the literature reviewed, however, refers specifically to the first three groups, that is, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans.

Differential Quality of Studies

The quality of the literature reviewed is variable and we made an attempt to portray difference in quality by constructing tables (see Tables 1 - 4) which indicate which studies might be stronger than others.

Table 1 Quality of Studies on Mexican Americans

<u>Source</u>	<u>Field</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Time of study</u>	<u>Length of time in field</u>	<u>Other information</u>
Achor, 1978	Anthro- pology	Participant- observation interviews	Not re- ported	1972	6 mos.	Urban community study, lower class
Aguilar, 1979	Social work	10 yrs.work experience	NR	Not re- ported	10 yrs.	Cultural understanding
Baca, 1979	Soci- ology	Scholarly re- view of evidence	NR	NR	Not re- ported	Critical essay
Bacalski- Martinez, 1979	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Cultural themes
Berk-Selig- son, 1980	Ling- uistics	Review of the literature	NR	NR	NR	Mexican Am. socio- linguistics
Bullock, 1970	Econ- omics	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Employment problems
Burma, 1970	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly re- view of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Mex.Americans in U.S.
Casavan- tes, 1971	Social work	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Def. & attributes of Mex. Americans
Clark, 1959	Anthro- pology	Partic.-obs. interviews, +3,000 survey	+3,000	1954- 1955	13 mos.	Medical Anthropology urban community study
Cole et al., '78	Psych.	Instrument	244	NR	NR	Locus of control; sample included Mex., Ireland, U.S., W.Germany
Davidson & Gaitz, '73	Psych.	Bogardus-type Instrument	697	NR	NR	Social distance; urban; sample included Mex-Am., Blacks + Anglos.
Dworkin, 1971	Soci- ology	Interviews	280	1963- 1964	NR	Stereotypes + self images urban; lower class
Edmonson, 1957	Anthro- pology	Participant- observation	NR	NR	12 mos.	Cultural values, rural; lower class
Forbes, 1970	Educa- tion	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Mex.Americans in U.S.
Galarza, 1970	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Mex.Americans in U.S.
Garza, 1977	Psych.	Instrument	447	NR	NR	Locus of control; middle class

Table 1 Quality of Studies on Mexican Americans (Cont'd)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Field</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Time of study</u>	<u>Length of time in field</u>	<u>Other information</u>
Garza & Ames, '76	Psych.	Instrument	204	Not reported	Not reported	Locus of control; sample included Mex.Am., Blacks Anglos and others.
Gecas, 1976	Sociology	Interviews	335	NR	NR	Self-concept, rural; lower class
Gonzalez, 1969	Anthropology	Participant observation	NR	1960s	NR	Mex.Americans of New Mexico
Goodman & Beman, 1968	Anthropology	Partic.-obs. survey	NR	NR	3 yrs.	Children's views, urban; lower class
Grebler, et al., 1970	Soc. Sci.	Interviews & other techniques	NR	1963-1968	NR	Study of urban SW Mex.Americans
Heller, 1966	Sociology	Questionnaires + interviews	NR	NR	NR	Adolescents, urban; lower class
Henderson, '79	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Counseling ethnic minorities
Hernandez et al. '76	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Social + psychological
Jaworski, 1977	Education	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Cultural values
Kagen, 1977	Psych.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Reviews lit. on social motives
Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961	Anthropology	Participant-observ. + instrument	23	1950-1951	about 1-1/2 yrs.	Value orientations; rural; lower class
Knowlton, 1973	Anthropology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Mex.Americans in rural New Mexico, lower class
Landolt, 1976	Economics	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Labor economics; urban; lower class
Laosa & DeAvila, '79	Psych.	Instruments	182	NR	NR	Cognitive styles-children; rural + semi-urban
Laosa et al., 1974	Psych.	Instruments	394	NR	NR	Perceptual-cognitive; urban children
Lux & Vigil, '79	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Cultural essay
Madsen, 1970	Anthropology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Health beliefs + behavior; rural

Table 1 Quality of Studies on Mexican Americans (Cont'd)

Source	Field	Methodology	Sample size	Time of study	Length of time in field	Other information
Madsen, 1972/67	Anthropology	Participant observation interviews	NR	1957-1961	NR	Community study; rural; mostly lower class; Culture change + mental health
Maldonado Cross, '79	Psych.	Instrument	NR	NR	NR	Self-concept; rural; lower class
Martinez, 1977	Psych.	Instrument	NR	NR	NR	Semantic differential
McClintock, 1976	Psych.	Instrument	216	NR	NR	Social motives in children; lower class
Mead, 1953	Anthropology	Not reported	NR	NR	NR	Mex.Am. culture, rural; lower class
Meier & Rivera, '72	History	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	History
Montenegro, '76	Sociology	Questionnaire	100	NR	NR	Ethnic self-identif., urban
Morales, 1971	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	
Murillo, 1976	Psych.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Mex.American family
Padilla & Ruiz, '76	Psych.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Prejudice + discrimination
Peñalosa, 1970 a	Sociology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Mex. Americans in California - change
Peñalosa, 1970 b	Sociology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Defining Mexican Americans
Ramirez, 1976	Psych.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Cognitive styles
Ramos, 1973	Anthropology	Interview	1 family	NR	NR	Case history, small town, lower class
Ramos, 1979	Anthropology	Partic.-obsv. interviews	21,000 (20% Mex.Am)	NR	NR	Community study; urban, lower class
Rivera, 1970	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Cultural motivations
Rocco, 1970	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Critique of literature
Romano, 1960	Anthropology	Participant-observation	NR	1950s	NR	Donship; rural town

Table 1 Quality of Studies on Mexican Americans (Cont'd)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Field</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Time of study</u>	<u>Length of time in field</u>	<u>Other information</u>
Rubel, 1970	Anthro-pology	Participant observation interviews	NR	1957-1959	2 yrs.	Mex.Americans in small S.Texas city; lower class
Saunders, 1954	Public Health	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Mex.Americans in SW; health related; rural
Shannon 1968	Soc. Sci.	Questionnaire	NR	NR	NR	World view, Mex.Am., Blacks, Anglos; small city
Sheldon, 1970	Soci-ology	Inter-views	300	1961-1963	NR	Mex.American formal organizations, urban
Simmons 1971	Anthro-pology	Partic.-obs. interviews	NR	NR	NR	Images + expectations; small city, lower class
Sumner, 1970	Anthro-pology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Mex.American minority churches; urban
Tirado, 1970	Poli. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Mex.American political organizations
Tuck, 1974/1946	Soci-ology	Not reported	NR	1940s	NR	Community study, small city
Ulibarri, 1970	Educa-tion	Open-ended interviews	65	NR	NR	Mex.Am.agr.workers in SW; lower class
Waddell, 1968	Soc. Sci.	Work experience	NR	NR	NR	Mex.Americans and the Correctional system; urban; lower class
Wagner,et al.,1971	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly rev of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Social + psychological
Wagner & Schaffer, 1980	Anthro-pology	Participant-observation survey	30	NR	NR	Social networks, urban; lower class

Table 2 Quality of Studies on Puerto Ricans

Source	Field	Methodology	Sample size	Time of study	Length of time in field	Other information
Bryce, 1973	Soc. Sci.	Participant-observation	Not reported	1970	Not reported	Urban housing; lower class
Buitrago, 1970	Anthropology	Participant-observation	NR	1962-1967	18 mos.	Comparative study of rural, lower class
Diaz-Royo, 1974	Education	Partic.-obsv. interviews, instrument	358	1972-1973	11 mos.	Enculturation; rural; lower class
Fitzpatrick, '71	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Situation of Puerto Ricans in New York
Franklin, 1981	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Minority history
Giraldo, 1972	Psych.	Review of literature	NR	NR	NR	
Glazer & Moynihan, 1963	Sociology	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Situation of Puerto Ricans in New York
Landy, 1959	Anthropology	Interviews, doll-play, survey	NR	1951	8 mos.	Child socialization, rural; lower class
Lauria, 1964	Anthropology	Not reported	NR	NR	NR	Interpersonal relations
Levine, 1980	Anthropology	Oral history, interviews	1	1940-1975	NR	Life history; lower class
Lewis, G., 1963	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	
Lewis, O., 1966	Anthropology	Interviews, partic.-obsv., family survey	1	NR	NR	Oral history, urban, PR/US, lower class
Lopez, S., 1978	Soc. Sci.	Interviews	80	1976	NR	Urban women; lower + middle class
Manners, 1956	Anthropology	Interviews, partic.-obsv. survey	NR	1948-1955	about 14 mos.	Community study, rural P.R.
Mintz, 1966	Anthropology	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	National culture
Mintz, 1956	Anthropology	Interviews, partic.-obsv. survey	NR	1948-1955	13 mos.	Community study, rural P.R.; lower class
Nieves-Falcón, 1972	Soc. Sci.	Interview	1400	1968	6 mos.	Public opinion lower-middle class; rural + urban

Table 2 Quality of Studies on Puerto Ricans (Cont'd)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Field</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Time of study</u>	<u>Length of time in field</u>	<u>Other information</u>
Nieves-Falcón, 1980	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	200	NR	NR	Impact of emigration, urban US; lower class
Ortiz, 1974	Soc. Sci.	Review of literature	NR	NR	NR	
Padilla, 1964/58	Anthro-pology	Interv. + partic.-obsv.	NR	1954-1957	2-1/2 yrs.	Community study, urban; lower class; USA
Padilla, 1956	Anthro-pology	Interv., partic.-obsv., survey	NR	1948-1955	about 9 mos.	Community study, rural PR
Picó, 1975	Soc. Sci.	Economic Data	NR	1973	NR	Women studies, urban
Ramirez, 1964	Soc. Sci.	Interviews	57	1962	1 mo.	Language; urban; middle class
Rivero, 1975	Soc. Sci.	Questionnaires	200	1970-1971	NR	Sex-education; urban; Univ. students
Rodriguez, 1970	Psych.	Instruments	223	NR	NR	Self-concept; urban; middle class
Rogler, L. 1972	Sociology	Participant-observation	NR	1964-1968	44 mos.	Study of an organization, urban US; lower class
Ross, 1977	Educ-ation	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Cultural values
Safa, 1974	Anthro-pology	Interv., partic.-obsv., survey	NR	1959 + 1969	1 yr. +	Community study; urban PR; lower class
Sandis, 1970	Sociology	Instrument	NR	NR	NR	Migration; urban PR/US
Seda, 1958	Anthro-pology	Partic.-obsv., survey, secondary sources	NR	1948-1955	4 yrs.	Normative patterns
Seda, 1963	Anthro-pology	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Economic progress
Seda, 1964	Anthro-pology	Participation-observation	NR	1957-1958	12 mos.	Community study, rural lower class
Seda, 1966	Anthro-pology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Race relations, US/PR
Seda, 1968	Anthro-pology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Race
Seda, 1969a	Anthro-pology	Interviews	NR	1966	NR	Civil rights

Table 2 Quality of Studies on Puerto Ricans (Cont'd)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Field</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Time of study</u>	<u>Length of time in field</u>	<u>Other information</u>
Seda, 1969b	Anthro- pology	Interviews	NR	1966	NR	Civil rights
Seda, 1970	Anthro- pology	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Minorities
Seda, 1973	Anthro- pology	Interv., partic- obsv., survey	545	1959 + 1961	NR	Soc. change + personality rural PR; lower class
Seda, 1977	Anthro- pology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Personality
Stanton, 1966	Soc. Sci.	Theory	NR	NR	NR	
Steward, 1956	Anthro- pology	Interviews, partic-obsv., survey	NR	1948- 1949	19 mos.	Community studies, mostly rural PR
Tumin, 1971	Soci- ology	Questionnaire	999	1952- 1953	NR	Social stratification in PR
Vazquez, C. 1971	Soc. Sci.	Survey	NR	1969	NR	Housing
Vazquez Nuttall, 1978	Psych.	Interviews	63	1977	NR	Mental health; urban; lower + middle classes
Wagenheim, 1972	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Study of island; rural + urban
Watlington- Linares, 1975	Soc. Sci.	Statistical	NR	1972	12 mos.	Land tenure; rural
Wells, 1969	Poli. Sci.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Political values + institutions; PR rural and urban
Williams. 1972	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Race relations
Wolf, E. 1966	Anthro- pology	Interviews, partic.-obsv., survey	NR	1948- 1955	13 mos.	Community study, rural PR
Wolf, K. 1972	Anthro- pology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Socialization, rural + semi-urban

Table 3 Quality of Studies on Cubans

<u>Source</u>	<u>Field</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Time of study</u>	<u>Length of time in field</u>	<u>Other information</u>
Alum & Manteiga, 1977	Educa-tion	Scholarly essay	Not re-ported	1977	Not re-ported	Cultural values
Fox, 1971	Anthro-pology	Interviews + participant observation	50+	1969	NR	Exploratory; lower class
Fox, 1973	Anthro-pology	Interviews + partic. obsv.	50+	1969	NR	Exploratory; lower class
Gil, 1976	Anthro-pology	Partic. obsv., interviews, questionnaires	110 families	1970s	NR	Cubans in Los Angeles
Lasaga, 1970	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Exile
Lewis, O. & Lewis, R. 1978	Anthro-pology	Interviews + participant-observation	NR	1969-1970	1-1/2 yrs.	Oral histories
MacGaffey & Barnett, '62	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	early 1960s	NR	
Moreno, 1971	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Cultural values
Pérez, 1980	Soc. Sci	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Summary article
Portes, 1969	Soci-ology	Instrument	48 families	1960s	NR	Motivation + integra-tion assimilation
Portes, 1980	Soci-ology	Instrument	2278	1973/4 + 1976	NR	Immigrant perceptions; urban Mex. Ams. + Cubans
Rasco, 1970	Soci-ology	Review of literature	NR	NR	NR	Exile
Rogg, 1974	Soci-ology	Interviews + questionnaire	NR	1969	NR	Adjustment + assimila-tion in New Jersey
Rogg & Cooney, '80	Soci-ology	Questionnaire	NR	1979	NR	Adjustment + assimila-tion of Cubans in NJ; restudy
SFGC, 1977	Psych/ Soc.Sci.	Final report on grant	NR	1974-1977	NR	Treatment + research in Men. Health-Drug Rehab.
Szapocz-nik, 1978a	Psych.	Instrument	533	1978	NR	Cultural values
" 1978b	Psych.	Schol. essay	NR	1978	NR	Cultural values + men. health
" 1980	Psych.	Schol. essay	NR	1980	NR	Men. health of elderly/Miami

Table 4 Quality of Studies on Hispanics

<u>Source</u>	<u>Field</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Time of study</u>	<u>Length of time in field</u>	<u>Other information</u>
Christian, 1970	Soc. Sci.	Review of literature	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Cultural themes
Cohen, 1979	Anthropology	Participant-observation interviews, instrument	97	NR	NR	Medical anthropology, urban; lower class; Central + So. American immigrants
Davidson, 1972	Soc. Sci.	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Rural Latin American culture
Estellie Smith, 1968	Anthropology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Hispanics in Florida
Portes, 1980	Sociology	Interviews	1412	NR	NR	Immigrant perceptions, Mex.Ams and Cubans
Safa, 1980	Anthropology	Scholarly essay	NR	NR	NR	Hispanic women in labor force; urban US; lower class
Szalay, 1978	Psych.	Word assoc. + content analy.	156	NR	NR	Hispanic culture, urban
Turner, 1980	Psych.	Scholarly rev. of evidence	NR	NR	NR	Lit. review on Hispanics in the USA

PATTERNS OF THOUGHT

Ideologism - Pragmatism

Introduction and Summary

This dimension, proposed by Glenn (1981), refers to certain characteristics of thought patterns which vary cross-culturally. Glenn contrasts cultures in which "universalistic" thinking predominates with cultures where "particularistic" thinking predominates. Since universalism and particularism are terms which have been used a great deal in social science with varying meanings, such as by Talcott Parsons, we will use the term ideologism instead of universalism and pragmatism instead of particularism.

Glenn contrasts the ideological person who employs a broad ideology or framework within which all experience can be understood with the pragmatic person who considers only frameworks of limited generality. Ideological thinkers start with broad frameworks, such as a religious system, Marxism, or a socio-political ideology and they tend to "place" every "fact" into the framework so that it "fits." The pragmatic thinker starts with facts and empirical observations and from them extracts a generalization, often of only limited generalizability. The first pattern is deductive and the second pattern is inductive.

In interpersonal discussions the ideological thinker insists on settling principles before discussing details. The pragmatist, on the other hand, prefers to settle small issues and hopes to settle broader issues only if the narrow ones are settled. An example of this are the Soviets, who are more ideological and typically push for a general principle (such as universal disarmament) while the Americans, who are more pragmatic, strive for a limited agreement (such as limitation of a particular weapon).

Ideological thinkers place emphasis on the "big picture" and they tend to perceive pragmatic thinkers as preoccupied with trivia and unable to see the larger connections. Pragmatic thinkers, on the other hand, tend to perceive

ideological thinkers as too theoretical, impractical and as fuzzy thinkers. Ideological thinkers are concerned with meanings, interconnections and implications of ideas and behaviors whereas pragmatic thinkers tend to manifest a more utilitarian concern with what "works" in a given case or situation. Often pragmatic thinkers perceive ideological thinkers as too metaphysical whereas ideological thinkers often perceive pragmatic thinkers as too materialistic.

It is rather difficult to do more than speculate on the degree of either ideologism or pragmatism in Hispanic culture. The literature generally does not directly address the topic of characteristic patterns of thought, and specifically does not discuss it in terms of Glenn's concepts. On the whole, however, we will offer the tentative generalization that Hispanic culture, and particularly traditional Latin American culture, tends more in the direction of ideologism than does North American culture. The Hispanic cultural emphases on the spiritual, the transcendent, the poetic and the metaphysical aspects of existence are suggestive of ideologism. Another indication is the fact that traditionally the Latin educational system stressed the humanities and law rather than the technical professions. Roman Catholicism, as a varied but coherent religious framework, also might be linked to ideologism. Lastly, some of the upper-class patterns - such as an emphasis on a leisured, cultured and gentlemanly life style- seem more suggestive of ideologism than they do of pragmatism.

At the same time, however, there appears to be ample evidence that pragmatic patterns of thought also characterize Hispanic culture. A more ideological and nonutilitarian approach was probably more the prerogative of the Latin elites; most anthropological accounts of lower-class life provide innumerable examples of a more pragmatic approach.

Discussion

A Hispanic tendency toward ideological thinking is suggested in the literature, particularly with regard to upper-class patterns. Much more so than the lower-classes, the upper-classes are often described as adhering more firmly to a Roman Catholic view of the world in which every man has a pre-ordained place and destiny (Madsen, 1973:44). The gentleman complex, derivative of the 16th and 17th Iberian gentry (Wagley, 1968:3-4), has also been described as a transcendent world view (Gillin, 1965:513) in which pragmatic, material and utilitarian considerations are not the primary motivational factors. T. Lynn Smith (1970:255), in a discussion of Latin American values, emphasizes the point that traditionally Latin American educational systems and activities produced generalists not specialists.

We might speculate that the often mentioned importance of Catholicism for Mexican Americans (Henderson, 1979:111, Clark, 1959:96-117, Bascalski-Martinez, 1979:12-27) might be indicative of a certain tendency toward ideologism. Madsen (1973:14-15) claims, for example, that many Mexican Americans believe that Anglos lack true religion and ethics, and that Anglos' blind dependence on science and the ceaseless push for advancement have fettered the Anglos' integrity and intellectual ability.

The importance of the Catholic world view for Puerto Rican culture is also discussed in the literature (Wagenheim, 1972:210, Mintz, 1966:371). Fitzpatrick (1971:91-92), for example, describes the Puerto Rican world view as containing a sense of primacy of the spiritual, and as more concerned with abstract, transcendent qualities such as justice or loyalty than with practical arrangements. He claims that for Puerto Ricans mastering the physical world is not as important as seeking the values of the spirit. Fitzpatrick (1971:5) also describes the negative Puerto Rican reaction to life in New York which is viewed as too materialistic, impersonal and secular.

The Mexican American concept of *la raza*, as a spiritual and divinely sanctioned brotherhood of the Latin people, is also a framework which suggests ideologism. This concept and some of its spiritual and mystical overtones is discussed by Henderson (1979:111), Madsen (1973:17), Gonzalez (1967:70-72) and others.

The contrasting orientations of Latin versus Anglo thought patterns can also be seen in the dialogue between Latin and American social scientists. In general, the Latin social scientists see North American social science as overly concerned with detail and trivia and relatively unable to comprehend the larger picture and the importance of interconnections and implications. North American social scientists often perceive Latin American intellectuals as overly concerned with theory and speculation and not sufficiently empirical.

However, in certain cases we also find evidence of pragmatic thinking, which shows a concrete and practical concern with solutions to smaller problems, in the literature on Hispanics. Sometimes it appears that larger principles are given lip-service as behavioral ideals whereas in practice the participants in an interaction work out a pragmatic and utilitarian arrangement. This point brings up the contrast between cultural ideals and real behavior. The ideals may set a very high standard, such as Roman Catholic morality, whereas the actual behavior of the members of the culture may deviate considerably from these ideals. Many of the ideals of Latin culture suggest ideologism, but many of the actual behaviors suggest pragmatism. Particularly ethnographies which describe the resourcefulness, adaptability and survival skills of the poor seem to suggest that pragmatic thought patterns are also characteristic of Hispanic culture.

Associative - Abstractive

Introduction and Summary

This dimension, proposed by Glenn (1981), contrasts cultures in which patterns of thought tend to be characterized more by associations, with cultures in which patterns of thought tend to be more abstract. Again, in dealing with patterns of thought we are looking at how the members of various societies process and communicate information and not at what they are communicating. As Laosa (1977:27) points out, it is important to distinguish between cognitive style, content, and abilities; we are only discussing cognitive styles.

Associative thought and communication is more embedded in context than abstractive thought; it tends to be more poetic, more metaphorical and more diffuse than abstractive thought. All things are potentially linked to all other things. Communication in associative cultures tends to be more indirect; to understand a message it is necessary to know more information, share with the speaker more common symbols, images, and the interconnections among them. Abstractive thought and communication is removed from specific contexts, and tends to be more specific and precise than associative thought. Associative thought then, is linked to the generation of art forms, and abstractive thought is linked to scientific enterprises.

Related to this concept is the idea of specificity versus diffuseness. Thought patterns and communication in associative cultures tends to be more diffuse. Everything is perceived as related to everything else. Another example of this is that in some cultures the distinction between "myself" and "my ideas" is weak or non-existent, i.e. the two are merged. In abstractive cultures the two tend to be quite separate.

A related dimension is "cognitive style" which ranges from field independence to field dependence. Laosa (1977:27) provides a good description of cognitive styles:

Cognitive styles are characteristic modes of mental functioning. Each individual has preferred ways of organizing what he or she hears, sees, remembers, or thinks about. Consistent individual differences in ways of organizing and processing information and experience have come to be called cognitive styles. These styles are conceptualized as stable attitudes, preferences, or habitual strategies determining a person's typical mode of perceiving, remembering, thinking, and problem solving. Their influence extends to almost all human activities that implicate cognition, including social and interpersonal functioning.

It seems likely that field independent individuals are more abstractive and field dependent individuals are more associative. An extensive literature on this topic, reviewed by Witkin and Berry (1975), suggests that field dependent persons are more sensitive to their environments in general and to interpersonal relations in particular. Field independent persons demonstrate an independence from contextual factors or disorienting visual cues (as in the Embedded Figure Test); they tend to be less sensitive and less influenced by their interpersonal environments.

Berry (1979) and Witkin (1979) argue that field dependence is correlated with certain types of techno-environmental adaptations. Societies in which much interdependence is required for basic survival, such as in many agricultural societies, tend to be more field dependent and they socialize their children for such interdependence. Societies in which individual autonomy is more important for survival, such as in hunting and gathering, tend to be more field independent. They conclude that cultures which require high levels of cooperation and mutual interdependence produce individuals who are more field dependent and hence, more sensitive to interpersonal relations. Societies where survival is more linked to individual or solitary enterprises tend to produce individuals who are field independent and less sensitive to interpersonal relations.

Triandis (1981) suggests that predominantly field dependent cultures will manifest certain common patterns of child socialization. Children in

field dependent and associative cultures, he asserts, are socialized for interdependence. They are trained to conform, and they are encouraged to be dependent on others. Parents tend to be more over-protective and to limit children's exploratory behavior.

Other correlates of associative cultures, suggested by Triandis (1981), are the following: They tend to interact more on a face-to-face level and to stress the importance of such personal interactions (personalism). Individuals in such a culture tend to be extremely sensitive to the opinions of others; social controls, which often include gossip and ridicule, work well. Associative cultures tend to emphasize gregariousness as opposed to solitude, and harmonious social relations as opposed to confrontational or abrasive behavior. Triandis also suggests that in such cultures delinquency is usually quite rare.

Once again, we must reiterate that there is very little in the literature which deals directly with the topic of patterns of thought, and the terms associative and abstractive thought patterns are not used. However, there is much indirect evidence which suggests that Hispanic culture is probably more associative than mainstream North American culture. Here we are clearly discussing patterns of thought on a very general level; obviously there will be a great deal of individual variation within any given population.

Associative thought patterns are suggested by a number of different types of statements in the literature on Hispanics. One possible indication of associative thinking is the point made throughout the literature that Hispanics favor more personalistic approaches and are in general very sensitive to interpersonal relations and cues from the social environment. There are many descriptions in the literature of a preference for face-to-face and personalized interaction styles.

A number of the suggested correlates to associative thinking appear in the literature. Some authors suggest that Hispanic child socialization

emphasizes mutual interdependencies rather than individual autonomy. Other authors describe a cultural stress on harmonious social relations and the avoidance of direct conflict. A good many authors note that Hispanics are very sensitive to the opinions of others in their social environments, and that gossip and ridicule function as important social controls.

Another point raised by many authors, which indicates associative thinking, is the Hispanic tradition of emphasis on arts and letters. Humanistic pursuits have long been awarded high status in the various Hispanic societies.

Lastly, a final indication of associative thought patterns can be found in the studies carried out on comparative cognitive styles. A number of studies indicate that Hispanics are generally somewhat more field dependent than are Anglos.

In summary, the evidence from the literature seems to suggest that Hispanic culture is somewhat more associative than North American culture. However, this tentative conclusion remains tentative in part because the literature does not deal with this topic directly and in part because the literature very often neglects the processes of cultural change which are occurring in the United States.

Discussion

An emphasis on personalism and interpersonal sensitivity in Mexican American culture is stressed consistently throughout the literature. Burlew (1970:251), for example, notes that Mexican Americans tend to be more personal than other North Americans in their social relations. Durillo (1976:19) describes Mexican Americans as manifesting a high degree of sensitivity to the social and physical environments. Forbes (1970:16) states that a personality characteristic of Mexican Americans is that they place more emphasis on warm interpersonal relations than upon wealth acquisition. Contacts between people require some sort of personal exchange. Clark's (1959:207-216)

description of the social amenities between a curer and the patient's family emphasizes that much personal contact is a necessary signal of courtesy and good will. Aguilar (1979:151), in his advice to social workers who will be working with Mexican Americans, notes that contacts between unfamiliar persons must start with a personal exchange to a greater extent than similar contacts with other North Americans.

Many authors mention a Mexican American preference for face-to-face and personalized interaction. Both isolated rural villages, such as in New Mexico (Saunders, 1954:51), and urban *barrios* such as in Dallas (Achor, 1978: 41-42), are described in *gemeinschaft* terms. Gonzalez (1967:108-109) notes the preference for personalized interaction when she describes how many Mexican American small businessmen in New Mexico were uninterested in joining the Chamber of Commerce because they conducted their businesses along more personal lines. Knowlton (1973:306), who discusses changes in New Mexican life, asserts that among values which remain are a preference for friendly person-to-person relationships rather than the formal impersonal relationships of the Anglo world. Burma (1970:25) and other authors have noted a consistent Mexican American preference for small groups and an antipathy for large and more formal groups and organizations.

Heller (1968:39), Mead (1953:172) and others discuss how children are trained to be dependent, not autonomous and self-reliant. There is an often cultural stress on harmonious social relations (Burma, 1970:25) in which courtesy, politeness, and good form are emphasized. People are generally described as extremely sensitive to the opinions of others in their environment. Gossip and ridicule operate as powerful social controls (Madsen, 1973:24, Achor, 1978:44, Mead, 1953:187).

Madsen's (1973:23-24) statements that Mexican Americans find direct criticism insulting and that to question the beliefs or accomplishments of another is to belittle him, are suggestive of a diffuseness in which "myself"

and "my ideas" are merged.

Ramirez (1976:197-201), who reviewed studies on field independence and field dependence with Mexican Americans, concludes that Mexican Americans are generally more field dependent than Anglos. Ramirez, however, prefers to call field dependence "field sensitivity." He notes that as field sensitive persons, Mexican Americans are more sensitive to the human element in the environment, are more influenced by authority, and tend to be motivated more by personalized rewards. Ramirez links field sensitivity to socialization patterns in more traditional Mexican American communities where there is an atmosphere emphasizing interpersonal relations so that individuals develop greater sensitivity to social cues and to the human environment in general. Ramirez's statements are also supported by the findings of Laosa and DeAvila (1979:91) who conducted a study on the cognitive styles of children in two communities using the Embedded Figures Test. They found that the Mexican American children in a traditional community were relatively field dependent whereas the children in a more dualistic community were relatively field independent. They also note that in both communities there was a progressive increase in field independence with increasing age.

Other statements which suggest associative thought patterns include the Mexican American emphasis on expressive art forms in general and on verbal art forms in particular. An important component of the Mexican American heritage consists of artistic and musical traditions (Forbes, 1970:16). Murillo (1976:18) notes, for example, that in Mexican American culture status and prestige derive from the ability to experience things spiritually. The culture, he states, reveres the philosopher, the musician, and the artist more than the businessman. Verbal expressiveness and poetry are far more important in Mexican American culture than in Anglo culture.

In so far as Hispanic or Latin American culture in general stresses the humanistic rather than the scientific, the esthetic rather than the

material, and the idealistic rather than the practical, there seems to be a case for associative thought patterns. With regard to Puerto Rico, Wells (1969:35) asserts that the traditional culture put a high value on literary and oratorical modes of expression and that being a writer, especially a poet, was an advantage for anyone aspiring to political office. Mintz (1966:371) also noted that a value statement with considerable support in the literature was that Puerto Ricans tended to have a humanistic view of the world where social values were put above scientific values.

Personalism is also much discussed in relation to Puerto Rican culture. Wagenheim (1972:213) mentions personalism as one of the "official values" long ascribed to Puerto Rican culture. He notes that it implies a strong faith in person-to-person contact and a skepticism regarding the value of impersonal procedures. Wells (1969:33) also notes that a highly valued style of action is conducting affairs on a person-to-person basis. Face-to-face contact, he asserts, is the preferred mode of behavior. Seda (1958:42), in an early work, noted that "...interpersonal relationships are conceived as personal and affectively charged and not 'neutral'... depersonalization and emotional detachment represent a breach of good manners..." In a more recent study of a traditional island community, Diaz-Royo (1974) states:

...Relations among residents of Jobos are predictable and close...The more impersonal, urban oriented dealings are disagreeable and often threatening, to them. Business transactions and buying tends to be with the same already known merchants in familiar settings. (p. 144)

Personalismo is very much a factor that determines their contact with the world. (p. 145)

Padilla (1964/1958:256-257) also observes that Puerto Rican migrants to New York tended to personalize institutional contacts and that they wanted a consistent one-to-one relationship with institutional representatives. She also notes the importance of personalized exchanges between people and the preference for personalized paternalistic work situations. Fitzpatrick

(1971:90-92) also claims that personalism is a value which remains strong in Puerto Rican culture within the U.S. context. He observes that for Puerto Ricans, life *is* personal relationships, that one can trust relatives and friends but not organizations, that people tend to respond to personal leadership, and that there is a strong tendency to seek personal relationships in one's business affairs. Safa (1974:54) also asserts that interpersonal relationships in a shantytown in Puerto Rico were highly reciprocal, highly personalized and largely non-utilitarian.

Landy (1959), whose study focused on child socialization, also stresses that children are trained to be dependent; this theme is discussed in some detail by him. Ross (1977:6) also claims that from an Anglo point of view Puerto Rican parents appear to be over-protective and not encouraging of self-reliance and independence in their children. There is an often mentioned stress on harmonious social relations, respect patterns and so forth (Lauria, 1964). Similar to Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans are generally described as highly sensitive to the opinions of others; gossip and ridicule are powerful social controls.

Personalism is a theme which also discussed by several authors writing on Cubans. Alum (1977:12), for example, asserts that personal qualities are preferred to material success. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962), in their discussion of personalism, note that "one does not trust a man because he is a judge, professor, chief of state, businessman or clergyman, but because one has reached a personal understanding with him." Gil (1976:106), in his study of Los Angeles Cubans, notes the Cuban preference for peer groups "in which the personal, face-to-face contact plays significant roles."

The work of Szapocznik (1978b) emphasizes the point that Cubans, similar to other Latins, are especially sensitive to environmental social pressures. He suggests that Cubans are characterized by a high level of need for approval and field dependence.

Szalay's (1978) work, based on word association data, emphasizes that Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area are very much oriented toward others and are outer-directed. In the following quotation, Szalay makes a contrast between Hispanics and Anglos that is highly suggestive of the cognitive styles of field independence and field dependence:

...Americans are frequently characterized as being of the inner-directed personality type who make choices and adopt certain behavior patterns using personal feelings and norms as points of reference. In contrast, the Hispanic Americans are characterized as the outer-directed type who tend to make choices and behave according to a more socially oriented frame of reference in which other people's opinions and assumed reactions play a particularly important role. (p.52)

Szalay also describes what he calls "the Hispanic ethos of social personalism." He asserts that "a sense of relatedness to others is a given rather than an end to be sought by each person."

Lastly, it should be mentioned that a number of authors, writing about various Hispanic groups in the United States, emphasize the processes of social and cultural change. Many suggest that major shifts in cultural patterns and values are occurring. The data on cognitive styles provided by Laosa and DeAvila (1979) illustrates this process of change; they found that Mexican American children in a traditional community were more field dependent than children in a dualistic community. Achor (1978:114;122-124) also elaborates on shifts which she believes are occurring among Mexican Americans. She notes, for example, that many Mexican American parents were teaching their children to value accomplishments and competitiveness over obedience. Safa (1974:105) also describes a process of the adoption of new values by Puerto Ricans who she says are increasingly subscribing to the Protestant Work Ethic and emphasizing competition and conspicuous consumption. One may hypothesize that some of these changes indicated by authors signal a shift from associative to abstractive thought patterns.

A hypotheses that seems worth testing emerges from such data: The more a Hispanic is acculturated into the mainstream of U.S. society, the more abstractive he or she will be.

There exists a great deal of evidence which suggests that different cultures have different characteristic values (Albert and Kluckhohn, 1959). Many people today are aware, for example, that many agrarian peoples placed a high value on harmonious relations between human beings and nature, or that traditional Chinese society emphasized the importance of respect and reverence for the elderly. Especially people who have travelled or interacted with persons from other cultures or sub-cultures tend to comprehend, even if they do not fully accept, the fact that other peoples often have a different viewpoint on what kinds of thought and behavior are considered appropriate and desirable. Another aspect of interest regarding cultural values is that they do not remain static, but rather tend to change over time. Lastly, it is also clear that within large heterogeneous populations there may be a number of competing value systems (e.g. the Liberals and the Moral Majority in the United States).

In reviewing the literature on the characteristic values of Hispanics in the United States there are three central problems which merit attention. The first problem is one of definition. Different researchers have defined and used the term "values" differently (Hofstede, 1980:20). A second major problem is in trying to ascertain characteristic values of a large and heterogeneous population within a nation-state rather than the small and relatively homogeneous societies which used to typify anthropological inquiry. Lastly, another major problem is to accurately assess the nature and direction of change. For none of these issues are there any easy answers.

This review uses a definition of "value" which is purposefully broad so as to subsume the variations on this theme provided in the social science literature. We follow Kluckhohn (1951:395) who stated that "a value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action." Hofstede's (1980:19) more

simplified version of this definition is that a value is "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others." While these definitions provide a framework for thinking about cultural values they do not resolve the problem extant in the literature on Hispanics that each social science discipline, and to a certain extent each social scientist, has conceptualized and employed the term utilizing different though not unrelated meanings. The problem of lack of uniformity can only be highlighted but not resolved.

To organize the discussion we will draw on the framework of basic value orientations suggested by the work of Kluckhohn (1956, 1959), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and Hofstede (1980). The Kluckhohn work resulted in the suggestion that there are five basic value orientations in all societies. These are (1) beliefs about innate human nature, (2) orientation toward nature in terms of subjugation, harmony or mastery, (3) focus on a temporal dimension of past, present or future, (4) an activity orientation which emphasizes being, being-in-becoming or doing, and (5) a relational orientation of individualism versus collectivism. Hofstede's (1980) work gives two additional value orientations, not easily integrated into the Kluckhohn framework, of (1) uncertainty avoidance (strength of norms), and (2) masculinity/femininity (attitudes toward work).

The attempt to make generalizations about the cultural values of such a large and heterogeneous population as Hispanics in the United States is undertaken with a great deal of caution. The literature makes clear that there are many ethnic, regional, class, generational and other differences within the so-called Hispanic population of the United States. The reality of the heterogeneity of the Hispanic population is documented by many authors (Duran & Bernard, 1973:235, Grebler et al., 1970:423, Padilla, 1964/1958:358, 371, Peñalosa, 1970:41, Rivera, 1970:47, Safa, 1974:3, Saunders, 1954:42, 104, and Steward, 1956:11). Generalizations about any aspect of Hispanic culture must always be viewed against this basic background of internal diversity.

Another fact which needs to be kept in mind is the process of cultural change. Numerous authors call attention to the changes which are occurring in Hispanic cultural values in the American context. Suggestion of an isolated and stable configuration of sub-cultural values can easily lead to illusions. Generalizations about Hispanic culture in the United States must be viewed against a background of cultural change.

The social science literature on Hispanic value orientations has sparked a good deal of debate and controversy. The literature on Mexican American values, as noted by Wagner (1971:53), is particularly controversial. A number of the more important reasons for the controversy will now be reviewed.

Many writers today object to the literature on Hispanic values (especially Mexican American values) because they claim that it has created and perpetuated a distorted and negative image of Hispanic culture. Critiques by Hernandez (1970), Hernandez et al. (1976:121-124), Rivera (1970), Rocco (1970), Romano (1968) and others argue that the characterizations of Hispanic values in the social science literature are themselves value-laden because they contain either explicit or implicit assumptions about the superiority of Anglo values and the inferiority of Hispanic values. Some of these authors claim that Mexican American values are frequently portrayed as "deviant" and in need of being changed. Heller's (1968) rather negative evaluation of Mexican American values is a frequently cited example of a rather ethnocentric interpretation of Hispanic culture. Romano (1968:22) argues quite forcefully that the social science literature has contributed to a negative stereotype of Hispanic culture. He claims that the social science image of Mexican Americans is that they are essentially all alike, basically lazy, resigned to their lot, irrational, lax in habits, lacking in initiative and as such are criminally prone. Rocco also argues that social scientists in general have unwittingly emphasized the negative rather than

the positive aspects of Mexican American culture. He also observes that the social scientists generally assume that assimilation to the dominant society's values was the most desirable goal. While these critics do not deny that Hispanic values may be different from Anglo values, they decry the negative characterizations of Hispanic values by many Anglo social scientists.

A second and related point in the controversy is the claim by critics that the social scientists tend to blame the low socio-economic status of the group on cultural values which are often seen as impediments to upward mobility. Baca (1979:61-62), Galarza (1970:199), Hernandez (1970), Morales (1971:xvii-xviii) and others argue that the social science literature has tended to attribute the subordination of the group (Mexican Americans) to features internal to the group rather than to more accurately examine external conditions of the system which has perpetuated this subordination. The argument here is against a type of thinking sometimes labelled "blaming the victim." In general the objection of these critics is to the implication that cultural values are the primary cause of low socio-economic status of many Hispanics.

Some authors, such as Hernandez (1970) and Ramos (1979), argue that the so-called cultural values are better thought of as adaptive responses to socio-economic subordination. A number of writers, such as Burma (1970), Casavantes (1971) and Ramos (1979) carry this argument one step further in suggesting that the values attributed to Hispanics are not a function of ethnicity but rather are generated by the subculture of poverty and hence are characteristic not just of Hispanics but of all poor people. While there may be some truth to this argument, Szapocznik (1978a:967), who carried out research on Cuban and Anglo values, specifically controlled for socio-economic class and found that some differences between the two groups appear to be attributable to culture rather than to poverty.

A fourth major issue in the controversy over Hispanic values involves the actual presence, strength and distribution of traditional cultural patterns and values in the Hispanic population in the United States today. Turner (1980:14), who conducted a review of the literature on Hispanics, observed that "those who make the claim [for the existence of traditional values] generally do not specify whether it is true for the relatively acculturated as well as for the unacculturated, nor do they consider socio-economic status." Many writers today point to a diminution and weakening of traditional values in the face of increasing urbanization, acculturation, assimilation and contact. Burma (1970:3-4), for example, notes that the direction of generational change is toward greater assimilation. Peñalosa (1970:43-48) argues that many Mexican Americans have shifted from traditional Latin values to Anglo values. Lucy Cohen (1979:242-270), in her study of Central and South American immigrants in the Washington D.C. area, also emphasizes that Hispanic values are changing. Grebler et al. (1970:8, 421-423) argue that Mexican Americans in the urban contexts of Los Angeles and San Antonio did not appear to possess the distinctly traditional values of the kind frequently attributed to them.

These observations raise again the thorny problem of trying to make valid generalizations about the values of a large and heterogeneous population in the process of change. One must question and examine carefully many of the conclusions of social research carried out at a different time period or under conditions which may not be representative for the group as a whole. Grebler et al. (1970:7) specifically note that many earlier studies tend to over-emphasize traditional culture and cultural uniqueness because the research was conducted in remote rural areas or in urban ghettos where isolation allowed traditional cultural traits to be preserved. In summary, the criticism of the above authors is to question the extent to

which previous studies are applicable and generalizable to the entire Hispanic population in the United States today.

Clearly there is some heterogeneity in the values of any group. Furthermore, both patterns of migration and acculturation are likely to influence such variability. However, even though individual levels on a given value may be distributed according to the usual Gaussian curve, as long as the mean of Hispanics differs from the mean of Anglo Americans and as long as the variance of the distribution is not so large as to prevent the establishment of statistically significant differences, the study of these values is likely to provide useful information. The question of whether such values determine particular behaviors is a separate issue and is exceedingly complex (Triandis, 1980). The question of whether these particular behaviors are the "causes" of poverty is also a separate issue and by no means a simple one. From a scientific point of view the distinction between (a) discriminably different values between Hispanic Americans and Anglo Americans, (b) the link between these values and particular behaviors, and (c) the link between these behaviors and particular outcomes (e.g. poverty) should be kept clearly in mind. In what follows we are only attempting to examine question (a).

Now we will turn to a review of the material relating to the basic value orientations. Every effort has been made to include the different and often contrasting perspectives represented in the literature.

Mastery-Harmony-Subjugation to Nature

Definition

This basic value orientation refers to a culture's characteristic perception of the appropriate relationship between human beings and nature. The original definition by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:13) focused almost exclusively on the physical environment (rivers, soil, rain, animals, etc.) although subsequent authors' use of the concept has expanded it to include the social environment (people, events, institutions, etc.) as well.

The original definition of this value emphasized the investigation of a culture's characteristic attitude toward human control over natural forces. The mastery-over-nature orientation, said to typify most Anglo Americans, views natural forces as obstacles to be overcome, harnessed and put to the use of human beings. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961:13) description of this orientation states:

Rivers everywhere are spanned with bridges; mountains have roads put through and around them; new lakes are built, sometimes in the heart of deserts; old lakes get partially filled in when additional land is needed for building sites, roads, or airports; the belief in man-made medical care for the control of illness and the lengthening of life is strong to an extreme; and all are told early in life that "the Lord helps those who help themselves."

The subjugation-to-nature orientation is defined as a much more passive and fatalistic attitude toward natural forces. Human beings are not viewed as having control over the environment, but rather are more or less at the mercy of natural forces. Since human beings are not viewed as potential masters of the environment it follows that few efforts to control the environment will be made. The subjugation-to-nature orientation is described as a perspective which fosters resignation and acceptance. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:13) note that individuals "simply accepted the inevitable." Thus, this orientation is linked to passivity and fatalism.

The contrast between subjugation and mastery parallels the contrast between external and internal locus of control (Rotter, 1966). The externally controlled person feels that most events are caused by influences that are external and hence essentially uncontrolled. In contrast, internally controlled persons see most events as caused by themselves. The internally controlled person feels himself to be "in charge," whereas the externally controlled person does not.

The harmony-with-nature orientation is one which emphasizes a unity or harmony between human beings and natural forces. This orientation, according to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, is more characteristic of some North American Indian cultures and certain oriental societies at certain historical periods.

It is worth re-emphasizing the point that many social scientists' use of this concept has expanded its original meaning. While Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck focused almost exclusively on the human relationship with the physical environment, many subsequent researchers expanded the notion of environment to include *all* aspects of the environment, including the social environment. Thus, for example, while Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's questionnaire used items dealing with crops, water and sheep, a modern version would conceivably investigate beliefs about employment, social service agencies and the like.

Initial Summary

The literature does not present a clear and consistent picture of this value orientation among Hispanics in the United States. Many authors claim that Hispanic culture is characterized by a subjugation-to-nature orientation; they stress fatalism, passivity, and the acceptance of God's will (resignation). Another group of authors argue against the attribution of a subjugation orientation to Hispanic culture. Various types of evidence are used to refute claims of passivity and fatalism. Lastly, a small number of authors follow a middle ground and argue that the Hispanic orientation is a

more complicated mix of active and passive elements. These authors would argue that the label of subjugation-to-nature is too simplistic to adequately convey the true cultural meaning of the Hispanic world-view.

Arguments For a Subjugation-to-Nature Orientation

Many authors writing on Mexican American culture argue that it is appropriate to state that it is characterized by a subjugation-to-nature orientation. Heller (1968:19), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:13) and Saunders (1954:128) state quite definitively that subjugation-to-nature is the dominant value orientation of Mexican American culture. Life, they claim, is viewed by Mexican Americans as the fulfillment of a God given destiny. God, rather than human beings, controls the environment. Human beings must try to accommodate themselves to God's will. Human effort can be easily thwarted by forces beyond the control of the individual. Since human beings do not control the environment, this perspective is said to foster an attitude of fatalism. Linked to fatalism are attitudes of resignation and acceptance of one's fate. This value orientation has been linked by several authors (Jaworski, 1977:8, Madsen, 1973) to the world view of Latin Catholicism.

Heller (1968:19), Jaworski (1977:8), Landolt (1976:347) and Madsen (1973:18-19) argue that a fatalistic outlook is characteristic of Mexican American culture. Authors emphasize that fatalism produces attitudes of resignation and acceptance. Madsen (p.18), for example, states: "Misfortune is something the Anglo tries to overcome and the Latin views as fate." He cites the farmers' horror at the creation of hybrid plants and the probing of outer space as evidence of an attitude that human beings should not interfere in the workings of the natural universe which is controlled by God.

Saunders (1954:127-128) claims that Mexican Americans are more likely to accept what destiny brings and to meet difficulties by adjusting to them rather than trying to overcome them. Fate, he states, is seen as "somewhat

inexorable" and it is man's obligation to accept God's will. Edmonson (1957:59-60), in a much criticized passage, also claims that fatalism is characteristic of Mexican American culture:

Despite the keen sense of drama and emphasis upon an extreme self-determination in Hispano culture, there remains a strong element of fatalism in the value system...

Where Anglo Americans spend enormous amounts of money on preventive medical care and life insurance, Hispanos give a characteristic shrug of acceptance of death and illness as inevitable.

Other authors, such as Madsen (1973), Romano (1960:971) and Rubel (1970:261) describe a world view which holds as its basic premise that the world is fickle and undependable and is therefore unpredictable and beyond human control.

While no authors writing on Puerto Ricans specifically discuss subjugation-to-nature, many do discuss fatalism and resignation. Wagenheim (1972:210-211), for example, notes that fatalism is an "official value" long attributed to Puerto Ricans; life is seen as controlled by supernatural forces and one must, of necessity, adopt an attitude of resignation to misfortune. Wagenheim is, however, clearly somewhat skeptical about the full validity of this attribution. Wells (1969:23) more forcefully argues that a component of traditional Puerto Rican values is fatalism or the belief that life is shaped by forces beyond human control; nature, fate, luck and the will of God are the determining influences of human existence. Ortiz (1974:141-145), in a survey of the frequency of behavioral patterns discussed in some 25 literary, sociological and "scientific" works on Puerto Rico, notes that the theme of "conformism-resignation" appeared 11 times, more often than any of the other patterns which he analyzed. The theme of "docility-passivity" appeared six times.

Padilla (1964/1958, 1956), in studies carried out in both Puerto Rico and New York, also elaborates on the theme of a basic value orientation of

subjugation-to-nature. Regarding the island community which she studied she says (1956:306): "Man is thought to be subject to a fate which he can seldom avoid but which, with the aid of magic, he may avert." Regarding the New York Puerto Ricans, Padilla (1964/1958:124-125) states:

Man's life is believed to be subject to fate, and luck plays an important part in the events that are to lead him to the fulfillment of his destiny...The attitude is that while a man may try very hard to "get ahead" and be proper and good, he may be trapped by his own destiny or bad luck into not being able to realize his goals...Illness, poor economic conditions, serious misbehavior of the children, and "getting in trouble" are due to causes beyond one's control.

Other anthropological studies also emphasize a predominant attitude of fatalism among Puerto Ricans. Manners (1956:128), for example, notes:

I believe it [fatalism] pervades much of their thinking and explains the infrequent complaining. Resentment is rarely directed outward against a proper object, against the real cause of one's difficulties. Although the causes may be quite specific: no money, no food, sickness in the family, too many children - the expression is generally diffuse, the response, perhaps, drinking or a fight with one's neighbor who has the same frustration.

Landy (1959:231; 238; 252), who studied child socialization in a sugar cane workers' community, also repeatedly stresses that the culture emphasizes a reliance on luck and that luck is seen to govern actions more than hard work. He states:

The *mañana* values of Vallecanaes are reflected in their reliance on the smiles of Fate, in their almost fatalistic acceptance of life as it comes, in their minimal aspirations. In socialization, this outlook is not only transmitted through example by the indifference with which Vallecanaes view danger, or ill luck, but it can be seen in the modest achievement demands which Vallecanaese mothers and fathers make upon their children.

An important point raised by several authors is the fact that a more resigned attitude is logically connected to a situation of poverty and minimal opportunities. Landy (1959:150), for example, notes that the environment was deadening and frustrating to even minimal ambitions. Wells (1969:32) points out that for traditional Puerto Rico, material abundance,

good health, education and other attributes of a high standard of living were too remote for the majority of people to justify efforts to attain them.

For Cubans, only Szapocznik (1978a:961;965, 1978b:112;115, 1977:30, 1980:66) and his associates argue that they tend to prefer subjugation-to-nature. His findings, based on carefully constructed questionnaires designed to tap basic value orientations were:

The single largest difference $t(206)=2.92$, $p<.01$, was obtained for the Person-Nature and Time subscale (Factor 3). As predicted in Hypotheses 2 and 4, Anglo Americans tended to value *mastery over nature* and preferred to plan for the *future*, whereas Cubans tended to endorse a *subjugation to nature* orientation and a *present-time* orientation (1978a:965).

...Anglo Americans tended to believe that they could and should plan for the future, and that they can exercise some control over natural and environmental conditions. Cubans, on the other hand, endorsed a present-oriented existence and preferred not to influence, or perceived that they could not modify, natural forces and environmental conditions (1977:30).

Research conducted by Szalay (1978:viii;29;111) focused on Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area; the majority of the people studied were Central or South Americans. He appears to argue that Hispanics are not entirely fatalistic but tend to be more fatalistic than Anglo Americans. In discussing the concept of "success" he states: "The very expression suggests a process of a very active involvement and pursuit to the Anglo American group while the Hispanic emphasis on gaining and obtaining success suggests somewhat more dependence on circumstances or even good luck." However, Szalay also strongly emphasizes that Hispanics do not accept illness in a fatalistic way. Lastly, Szalay argues that Hispanics are more externally controlled whereas Anglo Americans are characteristically internally controlled.

Arguments Against a Subjugation-to-Nature Orientation

A good number of authors writing on Mexican Americans, such as Casavantes (1971:48), Hernandez et al. (1976:121-124) and Rocco (1970:92), dispute

strongly the validity of characterizing Mexican American culture as tending toward subjugation-to-nature, fatalism and passivity. These authors claim that these types of statements constitute an erroneous and distorted stereotype based on biased and imprecise observations. Other authors, such as Achor (1978:3-4) and Jaworski (1977:8), argue that fatalism and related traits were characteristic of Mexican Americans during agrarian times, but that they are no longer accurate descriptions of Mexican American values and attitudes today. Saunders (1954:50-54) also makes this point when he specifically links these traits to the background of traditional agrarian village life where innovation and initiative were not especially functional; he notes that as Mexican Americans move away from this style of life these types of orientations change. Still other authors argue that subjugation-to-nature and fatalism are not aspects of Hispanic culture but are rather traits associated with the sub-culture of poverty.

A number of psychological studies have also cast doubt on the characterization of Mexican Americans as fatalists. Garza and Ames (1976:133-134) note that one would expect fatalistic people to score higher in externality on the Rotter Locus of Control Test, whereas in a study they conducted they found that Mexican Americans were less external on their total scores than Anglos. Garza (1977:98), in an article reviewing all previous studies of Locus of Control Tests on Mexican Americans, notes that sometimes Mexican Americans score high on externality and sometimes they do not. He concludes that there is no clear evidence that Mexican Americans are more externally controlled than Anglos and that there is therefore no strong evidence to suggest that Mexican Americans are more fatalistic than Anglo Americans. In a recent article by Cole, Rodriguez and Cole (1978) entitled "Locus of Control in Mexicans and Chicanos: The Case of the Missing Fatalist" the authors report that the proposition linking fatalism to external locus of control was not supported. Neither the Mexicans or the Mexican Americans tested were

significantly more external than Anglo Americans, and in fact the Mexican subjects were the most internal of all subjects in four countries.

The attribution of fatalism to Puerto Ricans is refuted by Safa (1974), Tumin (1971) and more indirectly by Rogler (1972). Safa (1974:33;35;105) argues that a fatalistic attitude which stressed the importance of luck was common in an earlier era of Puerto Rican history, but that since that time conditions have changed and that today many Puerto Ricans subscribe to the Protestant Ethic and believe strongly in the value of work, thrift and individual initiative. She reports that her informants did not attribute poverty to destiny but rather that they stressed the individual's role in and responsibility for his own success or lack of it. She concludes that the fatalistic ethos is being replaced by attitudes and values which emphasize competition and conspicuous consumption.

Tumin (1971:166), who conducted an island-wide survey in Puerto Rico, also emphasizes the absence of fatalistic attitudes. He states: "There is here none of the fatalism about inherited social position. These are people who clearly intend to work as hard as they can to change their lives so that their children may benefit from their extra effort." Rogler's (1972:205) study of a Puerto Rican community action group on the mainland, notes that the Puerto Ricans were predominantly optimistic about their futures and that 77% of them stated that they were taking actions to attain what they wanted most in life. Padilla (1964/1958:275;57), previously quoted with regard to Puerto Rican fatalism, also stresses the strong individual ambitions of the Puerto Rican migrants to New York. She describes their goals as including: working hard, valuing schooling, and cultivating the desire to "progress" and get ahead.

Lastly, the perspective of Oscar Lewis (1966) is that fatalism, along with a series of some 7' interrelated social, economic and psychological traits, is more a function of the sub-culture of poverty in class-stratified,

highly individuated, capitalistic societies. As such, a subjugation-to-nature orientation might be assumed to be characteristic only of lower-class culture.

Most writers on Cubans in the United States emphasize that Cuban emigre values are very similar to middle-class Anglo American values. Most studies emphasize the strength of Cuban aspirations for socio-economic success. Rogg (1974:53;110), in a study of the Cuban community in New Jersey, notes that Cuban parents had high ambitions for their children and that the performance of Cuban students, despite language difficulties, has been outstanding. She concludes that as a group, Cubans are very ambitious. Pérez (1980:259), in a recent review article for the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, also stresses Cuban aspirations: "The value that many Cubans attach to success leads them to encourage their children to attend college." Gil (1976:139-140), who studied Cubans in Los Angeles, also presents a picture of Cuban values which does not seem consistent with fatalism. He states: "...Cuban traditional values toward work and labor are believed by most writers to be compatible with the American work ethic... that is, hard work, deferred gratification, and a future orientation emphasizing competition." None of the above authors appear to agree with Szapocznik's (1978b) assertion that Cubans prefer the subjugation-to-nature orientation.

A Middle Ground

The writings of some authors suggest the existence of a Hispanic world view which combines both active and passive elements; these formulations seem to go beyond the dichotomy suggested by mastery versus subjugation-to-nature.

Sydney Mintz (1966:367;398), for example, in his essay on Puerto Rican national culture, takes a somewhat more complex view of the characteristic

relationship of Puerto Ricans to their environment. While noting that some authors stress an attitude of resignation, Mintz concludes that Puerto Rican culture, according to the literature, emphasizes *both* an active and acceptant orientation to the social environment. He quotes Rogler (1940:26) on resignation and fatalism, but contrasts this with the high value accorded education. Mintz (p.416) also discusses the work of Saavedra de Roca (1963) in which she emphasizes a predominant Puerto Rican attitude of *optimismo* (optimism) toward life in contrast to fatalism.

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:94), in their book on Cuban society and culture, also present somewhat more complex conclusions about the characteristic Hispanic view of man's relationship to the environment. They state:

Success in life is defined more in terms of the fulfillment of personal destiny or spiritual potential than by the achievement of station. Destiny is thought of as predetermined but is evaluated in terms of the competitive situation and the opportunities that present themselves at any given moment for an immediate improvement in one's personal circumstances. Thus, fatalistic resignation and violently aggressive competitiveness are juxtaposed...

...Luck, however, is not an external circumstance so much as a demonstration of the personal spiritual qualities essential to success. Anybody may discover that it is his destiny to be lucky, to succeed by combinations of fortuitous circumstances...

...the possibility of entirely escaping the material limitations of one's present status and environment has far greater appeal than a rational adjustment to those limitations, which would imply acceptance of them as consistent with one's personal destiny.

The image presented of Cuban values is certainly not one which emphasizes a passive acceptance of one's fate. The notions of fate, destiny and luck are combined with an active pursuit of betterment and a belief that things do not always have to remain the same. The Hispanic perspective, according to MacGaffey and Barnett, is apparently one which simultaneously tries to accept what must be and yet struggles to change what is. In this view, fatalism is but one of several interacting components in the Hispanic ethos.

Lucy Cohen (1979:244-248; 269-270), in a recent study of Central and South American immigrants to the Washington D.C. area, also tries to correct what she sees as an inaccurate and erroneous image of Hispanic values. She argues that previous researchers have over-emphasized fatalism and resignation in Hispanic culture. She argues that Hispanics do not just passively accept circumstances but rather they direct their efforts at trying to control themselves and trying to master difficult circumstances. She sees control and efforts to overcome difficulties as two key Hispanic values. She states:

A number of researchers have characterized Latin Americans as persons who are passive endurers of stress and tend to avoid direct interpersonal conflict. Latinos are said to bear disease and troubles through denial, courage and acceptance...

Studies of conflict resolution in Latin American cultures often emphasize the dynamics of resignation and conformity, rather than control of the self and mastery over difficult circumstances. Resignation is, however, only one of the behaviors which can result from an ideal that leads to containment and suppression of feelings. *Controlarse* has two complementary dimensions. Latinos can contain their feelings and *either* resign themselves to their unkind fate *or* strive to overcome stress-inducing situations. Among the immigrants in this study, there was an emphasis on the practice of *sobreponerse*, the ability to conquer and overcome one's disturbing feelings...

Planning for the future and hard work were central values which enables these immigrants to master the series of steps involved in immigration and settlement... Thus, these respondents did not fit a prevalent North American stereotype that the peoples of Latin American heritage tend to conform passively to unkind fate. Instead, these immigrants contained their feelings, faced difficulties, and worked to master them.

Cohen argues quite convincingly that the Hispanic immigrants' values and actions indicate an attempt to master the environment. It also appears that a cultural emphasis on self-control could be misinterpreted as passive resignation. A more stoical acceptance of adversity coupled with efforts to overcome difficulties does not equal fatalistic resignation.

Final Summary

The literature does not provide a consistent picture of this value orientation. While a large number of writers claim that Hispanic culture is characterized by a subjugation-to-nature orientation, many other writers refute this claim. Part of the problem may be that the question is usually posed as an either/or dichotomy. A more valid characterization of the Hispanic conception of the relationship between human beings and nature may require a more profound understanding of the Hispanic world view. Several authors argue that Hispanic culture is characterized by both active and passive elements. Other authors remind us that Hispanic values are not static and appear to be changing in the direction of the values characteristic of the dominant society.

Past-Present-Future Orientation

Definition

This value orientation refers to the "temporal focus" of a culture. According to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:14), societies differ in the extent to which they emphasize the past, the present, or the future:

Obviously, every society must deal with all three *time* problems; all have their conceptions of the Past, the Present, and the Future. Where they differ is in the preferential ordering of the alternatives (rank-order emphases)...

Hence, while all societies deal with the past, the present and the future, they are said to vary in the degree of emphasis upon each temporal dimension. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:14) cite ancestor worship and a strong family tradition as evidence of a predominant past orientation in Historical China.

Protestant Ethic societies, and particularly the United States, are said to be predominantly future oriented. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:15) state:

Americans, more strongly than most peoples of the world, place an emphasis upon the Future - a Future which is anticipated to be "bigger and better." This does not mean they have no regard for the Past or no thought of the Present. But it is certainly true that no current generation of Americans ever wants to be called "old-fashioned." The ways of the Past are not considered good just because they are Past, and truly dominant (that is, typically middle-class) Americans are seldom content with the Present.

Future oriented societies are said to be characterized by patterns of deferred gratification where present satisfactions are often sacrificed in order to gain long-term goals. Working and planning for the future is common. There is a logical connection between future orientation and a mastery-over-nature orientation. Working and planning for the future indicates an assumption that human beings can shape and control their destinies.

Another aspect of the future orientation is the relative importance of time in the culture. Western industrialized societies tend to place great emphasis on time such as in punctuality and efficiency. Time is money, and speedy efficient use of time is generally admired. Wasting time, on the other hand, is often viewed as something which is almost sinful.

Present oriented societies, as the label suggests, tend to emphasize the present more than either the past or the future. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:14) cite the Spanish Americans of New Mexico as an example of a present oriented culture. They state:

Spanish-Americans, who have been described as taking the view that man is a victim of natural forces, are also a people who place the Present *time* alternative in first-order position. They pay little attention to what has happened in the Past and regard the Future as both vague and unpredictable.

There is a logical connection between present time orientation and subjugation-to-nature. The belief that one can not control or influence one's fate renders planning and working for the future relatively pointless. Hence, there is a stronger emphasis on living more fully in the present moment. A present time orientation is also linked to a lack of deferred gratification; since the future is uncertain there is less tendency to sacrifice present satisfaction for long-term goals.

Another aspect of the present orientation is that there is less emphasis on time. Time is not viewed as a commodity of which one must make optimal use. There is a de-emphasis of hurrying, rushing and efficiency. The present moment and human interactions often take precedence over the constraints of the clock. The concept of "being on time", for example, often includes a much larger time frame than does the equivalent notion in industrial society (Hall, 1977).

Initial Summary

Again the literature contains a debate about this value orientation among Hispanics in the United States. While many authors argue that Hispanic culture is characterized by a predominantly present time orientation, other authors strongly refute this assertion. Some authors refute the present orientation entirely, and others emphasize that Hispanics in the United States have largely shifted from a present orientation to a future orientation.

Arguments For a Present Time Orientation

Many authors state that present time orientation is characteristic of Mexican American culture. These include Berk-Seligson (1980:72), Burma (1970:22), Edmonson (1957:58-60), Heller (1968:20), Henderson (1979:111), Jaworski (1977:8), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:14), Madsen (1973:19), Mead (1953:180), Murillo (1976:18), Saunders (1954:118-120) and Ulibarri (1970:31).

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:14), in the previously quoted section, argue that the Spanish Americans of the villages of New Mexico placed present time in a first-order position. Heller (1968:20), who conducted research in California, also argues that Mexican Americans emphasize present time. She claims that Mexican Americans viewed the future as unpredictable and therefore did not engage in much planning for the future. Both Mead (1953) and Saunders (1954) argue for a predominant present time orientation which they state is related to the nature and requirements of traditional agrarian village life.

A number of authors emphasize the links between present time orientation, lack of a future orientation, and fatalism. Berk-Seligson (1980), Burma (1970), Edmonson (1957), Heller (1968), Henderson (1979), Madsen (1973) Ulibarri (1970) and others make this point. Madsen (1973:19), for example, argues that the Latin lacks the future orientation and passion for planning

ahead of the Anglo because he believes that God, rather than human beings, controls events and commands the future. Berk-Seligson (1980:72) observes that an orientation toward present time is related to a sense of predestination and the idea that ambition is useless because it will not change things. These authors seem to be arguing that a fatalistic attitude toward the future acts to discourage present actions designed to alter the future. Hence, a number of authors link a focus on present time and fatalism to a lack of patterns of deferred gratification (Berk-Seligson, 1980:72), Ulibarri, 1970:31).

A number of authors link a stronger present orientation to the traditional agrarian lifestyle. Both Mead (1953) and Saunders (1954) argue that the activities of agricultural people are not regulated by the clock. Saunders (1954:120) notes that in village life the rhythms of life were seasonal not diurnal and that each day's activities were not crucially important. He argues that there was little need for a preoccupation with time, schedules or efficiency so long as each season's activities were carried out.

Saunders also argues that the type of agricultural production in the villages - household farming for subsistence - did not encourage or provide incentives for efforts to increase production either through technological innovation or more efficient uses of time. Saunders argues that in the rural villages, where storage was difficult and marketing rudimentary, there was little reason to try and expand beyond the subsistence economy. Efficiency and hurrying, he concludes, did not make sense in this type of traditional agrarian economy.

A number of authors, including Madsen (1973:19) and Murillo (1976:18), describe the Mexican American attitude toward time as a fuller, more complete perception of the present and a dedication to living each moment to the fullest. Life should be lived for today, not for yesterday or tomorrow.

Activities are to be engaged in in a more spontaneous and wholehearted manner.

Burma (1970:22) makes the point that Mexican Americans do not view busyness as a virtue but rather as an affliction. Other values, according to Heller (1968:38), often take priority over efficient use of time; leisure, enjoyment and proper interpersonal relations, she states, often have priority over aspects of time such as punctuality, efficiency and hurrying.

There is very little discussion in the literature on the temporal focus of Puerto Rican culture. The brief discussions, and/or comments which do occur seem to suggest a present time orientation.

Landy (1959:238; 252), for example, notes several times that the people of the rural community which he studied were present time oriented; he refers to them as a "*mañana* culture." His summary statement on the topic is as follows:

Much has been written about the present-time orientation of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic peoples...It may also be perceived in the comparative inability of the adult Vallecanañese to postpone gratification in terms of anticipated future rewards. As the child is not asked to endure contemporary discomforts in order to achieve future rewards of money and prestige, so the father spends his meagre earnings almost as fast as they come in. In part there is the "reality factor" of immediate and pressing need. But even for the relatively better-off lower-class...savings are almost unknown and many middle-class families share this impatience with the future.

Landy also argues, similar to Oscar Lewis' position, that poverty and present time orientation seem to reinforce each other. He further notes that the time orientation of the middle-class was changing in a process of acculturation to middle-class mainland American values.

Díaz-Royo (1974:140-141), who studied a traditional highland rural community in Puerto Rico, also offers some observations about the flow of time. He observes:

Life is not followed strictly by the clock...The sequence of daily life is uniform but not determined by the hour of the clock but rather by its own natural momentum. Many households visited had no clock...

Difficulty in deferring gratification is also mentioned by Mintz (1966:426) in a tentative trait list for Puerto Rican culture.

Fitzpatrick (1971:80;90), in his book on Puerto Ricans in New York, does not specifically discuss time orientation. However, he does make the point that Puerto Ricans in the United States have trouble with the American notion of efficiency. He claims that it is hard for Puerto Ricans to sacrifice family loyalty and obligations to more impersonal notions of efficiency.

In the literature on Cubans in the United States, only Szapocznik and his associates (1978a, 1978b, 1977, 1980) argue that they are characterized by a present time orientation. In his research on basic value orientations, Szapocznik found that present time and subjugation-to-nature emerged most clearly as values which distinguished the Cubans from the Anglo Americans.

Arguments Against Present Time Orientation

A number of authors, including Achor (1978:3-4), Jaworski (1977:8) and Saunders (1954:118-120), make the point that present time orientation is linked to the traditional agrarian background of village life. They point out that the present day situations of most Mexican Americans are very different and that the majority are urbanized. Achor (1978:113-114), Peñalosa (1970:48) and others point to a shift away from these more agrarian based values. Peñalosa specifically argues that a shift is occurring from present time to future time orientation among Mexican Americans.

Another argument involves Oscar Lewis' (1966) concept of the subculture of poverty. Lewis views certain characteristics, such as present time orientation and a tendency toward immediate gratification, as a function of

the situation of poverty rather than as linked to ethnicity. Present time orientation, according to Lewis, would be a characteristic shared by all poor groups in capitalistic societies. Such an orientation toward time can be viewed as adaptive given the extremely limited chances for future social or economic success; thus, present time orientation is, in part, a response to a situation of severely circumscribed and limited opportunities or alternatives. Lewis discusses these ideas in his books on Puerto Rico and elsewhere. Both Burma (1970) and Ramos (1979) have argued that the orientation to the present found in the Mexican American population is more related to conditions of poverty (the sub-culture of poverty) than it is to ethnicity.

Most discussions of Cuban value orientations stress the high degree of similarity between Cuban immigrants' values and middle-class Anglo American values. Gil (1976:139-140), for example, argues that traditional Cuban values toward work emphasize hard work, deferred gratification and a future orientation.

Lastly, both Cohen (1979) and Turner (1980) argue strongly against attributing a present time orientation to Hispanic culture in the United States. Cohen (1979:xxvii; 248), who studied Central and South Americans in Washington D.C. stresses the future orientation of the immigrants. She states:

Finally, the book should give readers insight into the changing values of people of Hispanic heritage. The immigrants in this study do not fit the stereotype of the "mañana-directed" or "present-oriented" types described in popular works on Latin American life in both this country and their places of origin. The participants in this study are careful planners, vigorously involved in future-oriented activity for themselves and their families...

Planning for the future and hard work were central values which enabled these immigrants to master the series of steps involved in immigration and settlement.

Turner (1980:16-17), who conducted a review of the literature on Hispanics in the United States, also seriously questions the validity of

attributing to them a present time orientation. First, she questions the data on which these generalizations were made, calling it "anecdotal" and "not well-documented." Second, she discusses two studies of time perspective which, she states, do not support the notion of present time orientation in Hispanic culture:

Anglo- and Mexican-American students at two south Texas universities were found to be similar in the extent of their projection into the future, the relative correspondence between the way in which they ordered events and their actual life cycle, and projecting negative events into the future (Khoury and Thurmond, 1978)...Puerto Rican high school students in New York exhibited greater future orientation in English than in Spanish...(Findling, 1971). The results above lead to speculation that if temporal differences do exist between Hispanic- and Anglo-Americans, among bicultural Hispanics who function in both Anglo and Hispanic domains, future-orientation may be exhibited in domains associated with being Anglo to a greater degree than in those associated with being Puerto Rican or Hispanic-American. Future studies are needed to document the temporal perspective of individuals at different stages of acculturation and assimilation in order to determine the pervasiveness of present time orientation, if it exists, and to determine whether it is a function of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or degree of acculturation or assimilation.

Final Summary

The literature presents conflicting conclusions regarding the time orientation of Hispanics in the United States. While many authors claim that Hispanic culture is characterized by a preference for present time orientation, other writers refute this claim. The discrepancy may be partially explained by examining when and where the research was carried out. Writers who stress present time orientation generally derive this generalization from observations of traditional rural life. As with fatalism, it can be argued that Hispanic values are in the process of change because of such factors as urban living, acculturation and assimilation and so forth. It is difficult to read Cohen's (1979) account

of the industrious and planful Latin immigrants and to see where this fits with an attribution of present time orientation. As Turner (1980) points out, it may be fruitful to conduct further research into the time perspective of Hispanics to ascertain more precisely if and how it varies from the time orientation of the dominant population. This author concludes that while some differences may exist, they are probably increasingly subtle ones and may have less to do with a temporal focus per se than with subtle differences in the use and perception of time. Factors such as levels of acculturation and assimilation and socio-economic status should also be taken into consideration.

Doing - Being - Being-in-Becoming

Definition

This value orientation, according to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 15-17), is concerned with the modality of human activity in various cultures: "The *activity* orientation centers solely on the problem of the nature of man's mode of self-expression in *activity*." Societies are assumed to vary in terms of the value placed on the types and purposes of human activities. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck propose a threefold division of activity orientations: doing, being, and being-in-becoming.

Some cultures, most notably western industrial societies, place a high value on action or doing. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck identify the doing orientation as the dominant one in Anglo American society. The "man of action", for example, is considered a very positive stimulus by North Americans. Activity, work, and busyness are generally considered good and of value in and of themselves. Work activities and leisure activities tend to be clearly demarcated one from the other and even in leisure activities North Americans often place an emphasis on doing. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:17) note that the most distinctive feature of this orientation is "a demand for the kind of *activity* which results in accomplishments that are measurable by standards conceived to be external to the acting individual." Anglo Americans, they state, generally want to know and will judge others by what they do or what they have accomplished. Who the other is and the nature of his inner spiritual state is generally of far less importance to North Americans.

The emphasis on action and accomplishment can be contrasted with a de-emphasis on aspects of life such as idleness, leisure, contemplation and meditation. Such a more spiritual or poetic approach to life may even seem somewhat suspicious to North Americans. It does not seem accidental that

the counter culture of the 1960s in the United States, which tried to challenge mainstream American values, clearly de-emphasized doing and stressed instead being. The continued interest in Eastern religions also reflects a feeling of rebelliousness against dominant mainstream Anglo American values.

Our language contains many aphorisms and expressions which reflect the emphasis on doing, such as "idle hands make the devil's work." Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:17) note that "getting things done" and "let's *do* something about it" are stock American phrases. When faced with a difficulty or a problem the Anglo American tends to respond by wanting to take some action. This tendency is reflected in the intense feeling of frustration in the United States during the hostage crisis in Iran when we were relatively unable to *do* anything about the problem.

Other cultures place a greater emphasis on being and on having a deeper and more spiritual experience of life. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:16) note that in the being orientation "the preference is for the kind of *activity* which is a spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be 'given' in the human personality." Human beings are not necessarily evaluated and judged according to what they do and accomplish. Who a person *is*, both in terms of ascribed characteristics and in terms of the inner qualities of the person, also counts and may be more important. Activity, work and busyness are valued less in and of themselves and are generally viewed more as means to ends. Idleness, leisure, contemplation and the like are more positively valued. There is more emphasis on the spiritual and poetic qualities of life. Work and leisure are not so clearly marked off from each other, and may, in fact, be combined. There are overtones of passivity in the being orientation because problems and difficulties are not necessarily responded to with action; adjustment and accommodation are also legitimate responses.

Lastly, there are cultures which emphasize being-in-becoming. Similar to the being orientation, the being-in-becoming orientation also focuses on what the human being is rather than on what he does. However, the being-in-becoming orientation also stresses the idea of development, transformation and the evolution of the individual to "higher" levels of consciousness and understanding. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:17) state: "The Being-in-Becoming orientation emphasizes that kind of *activity* which has as its goal the development of all aspects of the self as an integrated whole."

Initial Summary

Once again we see that the literature contains a debate about which activity value orientation best characterizes Hispanic culture in the United States. A number of authors claim that Hispanic culture is characterized by a preference for the being orientation. Other authors seem to be arguing that Hispanic culture emphasizes being more than Anglo American culture. While many authors discuss aspects of a being orientation in Hispanic culture, few seem ready to assign it a first order position in the value system. Many authors stress aspects of a doing orientation in Hispanic culture and a number argue that today Hispanic Americans predominantly favor a doing orientation. Similar to arguments already stated for the other value orientations, authors argue that the being orientation was characteristic of an earlier agrarian tradition and hence, no longer holds true today. A few writers link a being orientation to the sub-culture of poverty. Arguments and statements on both sides of the debate will now be reviewed.

Arguments For a Being Orientation

Several writers clearly state that Mexican American culture emphasizes being over doing. Heller (1968), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Mead (1953), Meier and Rivera (1972) and Saunders (1954) claim that Mexican

Americans prefer a being orientation. Saunders (1954:126), for example, notes that the Mexican American ideal is to be, not to do. Heller (1968:20) claims that there is a preference for the spontaneous expression of what is "given" in the personality. The important question, she states, is not "what does he do?" but rather "who is he?". Meier and Rivera (1972) also argue that Mexican American culture is characterized by values which differ from Anglo American values. One of these, they state, is that Mexican Americans consider that an individual's worth derives more from his being than from his accomplishments.

Several writers claim that Mexican American attitudes toward work are somewhat different than Anglo American attitudes. They argue that Mexican Americans tend to see work as a necessary part of life, as something essential to survival, but not as a value in and of itself. One works because one has to and when necessary one works hard, but when the basic requirements are met it is alright to stop. The perspective is described as one which views work as a natural but somewhat unfortunate part of human existence. However, it is not perceived as the central focus or *raison d'être* of existence. Unlike the Protestant Ethic, work is not viewed as something absolutely essential to the moral well-being of the individual.

Work and leisure are not always so sharply differentiated. Mead (1953:181-191), for example, in discussing the New Mexican villagers, notes that work hours were not sharply defined, that people preferred to work with other people and that socializing while working was common. Work and leisure, she states, were incorporated.

Tuck (1974/1946), in an early work on Mexican Americans, argues that the Mexican American attitude toward money was that it was not an end in itself but was appreciated because it helped to provide a more satisfactory life. She states (p. 136):

...the man who strains and strives is not admired - the man who "lives well" is...In a less competitive society than our's, the latter type might be considered an enviable figure, a man who was achieving a golden mean of effort and enjoyment. In our society, he is in danger of being considered unambitious...The most widely voiced criticism of Anglo-Americans is that "they will do anything for money"...it appears to voice a protest that money, while important and useful, should not be put first.

It is perhaps significant that many of these aforementioned descriptions of Mexican American values were derived from research conducted in the rural villages of New Mexico. Saunders (1954:126-127) specifically links the emphasis on being and attitudes toward work to the agrarian background. He argues, for example, that in the context of the agricultural and herding villages, it made little sense to try and work harder because there was no incentive for surplus production. He describes people as subsistence oriented and notes that people did not expect to go beyond the socioeconomic status positions of their parents. In the absence of what he labels a "success model" he concludes that the lack of drive and the matter-of-fact attitude toward work made sense. Interestingly, much of these descriptions of New Mexican village life are similar to the basic definitions of peasants and peasant orientations and behaviors in general. Wolf (1966:2) has defined a peasant as someone who runs a household not a business concern. Work and livelihood activities are part of the fabric of daily life and the orientation is toward making a living, not toward the maximization of profit.

A number of authors argue that the Mexican American view of activity and busyness is not consistent with the Protestant Ethic. Burma (1970:22) claims that busyness was seen not as a virtue but rather as an affliction. Saunders (1954:127) claims that activity in general was not highly valued.

Another aspect of the being orientation is a de-emphasis of the material side of life and a focus on the non-material and spiritual aspects of existence. Rivera (1970:49) argues, for example, that the norm of

non-materialist achievement distinguishes Mexican Americans from Anglo Americans. Murillo (1976:18) claims that Mexican Americans place a high value on experiencing things spiritually. Grebler et al. (1970:420), who disagree with this, do note that the consensus of opinion in the social science literature is that Mexican American culture values an acceptance of what is and emphasizes unquantifiable human experience. Shannon (1968:39) also concludes from his research that the Mexican American definition of success may be different from the Anglo American notion.

The theme of anti-materialism in Mexican American culture is repeated by several authors, such as Forbes (1970:16) and Madsen (1973:44). The de-emphasis of the material side of life is often contrasted with a positive value accorded the poetization of life, personalization of human relationships, unquantifiable human experience and a greater range of inner freedoms (Grebler et al., 1970:420). Madsen (1973:44) specifically links this pattern to the values of the upper-class. It does not seem farfetched to posit that the roots of these values are closely related to the gentleman complex of the Iberian peninsula (Gillin, 1965; Wagley, 1968). This might be a partial explanation for statements such as Heller's (1968:38) that in Mexican American culture inactivity and leisure are worthwhile goals. The emphasis on being then appears to have roots in the Great Tradition of the Iberian gentry and also in the Little Tradition of the rural villages; manifestations of the ideal patterns clearly vary by socio-economic class although a common core or configuration of values seems to exist.

The emphasis on being over doing is also linked by several social scientists to a more passive orientation to life; as such, it is apparently linked to the subjugation-to-nature orientation. Life, says Madsen (1973:34), is viewed as the fulfillment of God-given roles. Acceptance and resignation are given higher value than trying to implement change. Saunders (1954:127) again links this orientation to the agrarian background in which opportunities

for change were minimal. Esteem and the respect of one's fellows, according to Madsen (1973:33) and Saunders (1954:127) came more from ascribed characteristics and the fulfillment of social roles than from achievement. Two authors also argue that Mexican Americans have a more passive and relatively apathetic attitude toward formal schooling. Madsen (1973:33) and Ulibarri (1970:33) claim that the majority of Mexican Americans see formal schooling as relatively unimportant.

Although the literature on Puerto Ricans does not directly discuss the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) categories, there are a number of statements which can be interpreted as supportive of the attribution of a being orientation to Puerto Rican culture.

Fitzpatrick (1971:92), for example, claims that Puerto Rican culture stresses the primacy of the spiritual and that mastering the physical world is not as important as seeking values of the spirit. Mintz (1966:418) refers to Brameld (1959) who, in a trait list of characteristics of Puerto Rican culture, includes an accent on being rather than becoming. An emphasis on being can be interpreted from Mintz's (1966:426) suggestion that a tentative trait of Puerto Rican culture is "the unwillingness to rationalize the pleasurable as primarily practical." Diaz-Royo (1974:232), in a discussion of a very traditional highland community, states:

Their individuality is sheer being, which in turn is respected and validated by others. Their self worth does not necessarily consist of achievements in a modern urban sense, but rests on the harmonious way of being with their tradition-oriented world.

The Puerto Rican attitude toward work is also described by some writers as one which views work more as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Wolf (1956:213), for example, notes:

The peasants of Manicaboa do not look upon work as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. The end is leisure and the enjoyment of the fruits of work. Agricultural labor is hard and it is regarded as a

necessary evil...Prestige goes to men and women who are able to work hard...Yet work must not be allowed to dominate a man's existence to the extent that he can no longer enjoy leisure. It may be said that the forty days of religious observance throughout the year serve to institutionalize leisure.

Wolf (1956:214) further notes that people who are too preoccupied with working and saving and those that are considered stingy lose prestige: "Those who work to 'eat well' and who permit themselves the luxury of occasional recreational expenses are held in esteem."

Kathleen Wolf (1972:236), in a description of the same community, provides further comments on peasant attitudes toward work:

To be a respected member of the community a man must also be a hard worker...The conception of a hard worker differs from our own; the Manicaboa man must be able to work long hours with little sustenance, and he must be able to put forth a maximum of effort when time is of the essence; yet work is not a value in itself and the work day is not routinized as we conceive of it. If unusual reserves of energy have been spent, a man feels free to make a...break in his working day, and will also interrupt his work if he feels he has done enough, or if a friend comes by to chat. During the long months of the year when there is relatively little work to be done and when the poorer people have little food to eat, idleness is an accepted way of life.

Leisure and idleness, according to some authors, have historically had a high value in Puerto Rican culture. Seda (1973:36), for example, notes that the idle life has a long history in Puerto Rico and he claims: "Puerto Rican cultural tradition ascribes no positive value to industriousness; in fact, he who works with his hands is generally looked down on." Mintz (1966:369-370), in a discussion of Petrullo's (1947:30-40;102) claim that Puerto Ricans disdain work, argues forcefully that the idealization of idleness is primarily an upper-class attribute. He states that the supposed disdain of work simply does not accord with the strongly expressed rural feeling that vigorous labor is a sign of male virility.

Kathleen Wolf's (1972:260) account also links a high value on idleness to the upper-classes:

...these men [middle-class] consider not working at all to be the most desirable form of life. This ideal is sustained in the community by upperclass people...Ability to maintain oneself in a position by putting forth a minimum of effort gives prestige, and a person able to do this may brag about it to others...Casualness and effortlessness in work are expected, and people will laugh at anyone who has the reputation of being a hard working...working hard in such a way as to call attention to oneself almost falls into the category of bad manners.

These kinds of statements seem to support a continued idealization of the aforementioned Iberian gentleman complex. On the other hand, other authors argue that the lower-classes did not subscribe to the Protestant Work Ethic because their poverty situation seemed all-encompassing. Landy (1959:194), for example, argues that the lack of a (Protestant) work ethic made sense in terms of the absence of tangible rewards for hard work and saving. Wells (1969:32) also claims that a high standard of living was too remote for the majority of people to justify efforts expended to try and achieve it. Wells argues that the principal concern of the majority of Latins was with basic survival and that they lacked the means to accumulate wealth beyond subsistence requirements.

Only two authors on Cubans make statements that can be interpreted as emphasizing a being orientation. Alum's (1977:12) discussion of Cuban values is basically consistent with what has already been described for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Alum claims that Cubans value material success more because of the personal freedom it provides and less because of material comforts; personal qualities are preferred to material success. Alum also argues that work is not seen as an end in itself; one works so as to be able to enjoy life. While idleness is not valued, according to Alum, leisure in social activities is emphasized. He also notes that generosity, not thrift, is highly admired.

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:94) also make statements which are suggestive of a being orientation in Cuban culture. They state:

Success in life is defined more in terms of fulfillment of personal destiny or spiritual potential than by achievement of station.

With regard to Hispanics, Szalay's (1978) word association research, carried out primarily with Central and South Americans in the Washington D.C. area, also seems to suggest a preference for a being orientation. For example, Szalay (1978:28;44) contrasts the Hispanic and Anglo American concepts of mental health. He claims that the Anglo American notion of mental health emphasizes "successful coping with life." The Hispanic concept of mental health, according to Szalay, refers more to a capacity to experience tranquility, harmony, and a joy in living; permanent satisfactions and a state of personal well-being are emphasized. One could interpret his description to mean that Anglo Americans emphasize "doing alright" and Hispanics emphasize "being alright."

Szalay's (1978:110) discussion of the concept of achievement also indicates an emphasis on doing for Anglo Americans and an emphasis on being for Hispanics:

Both groups understand achievement as doing, finishing, or accomplishing tasks or jobs, and it is a particularly dominant theme for the Anglo Americans. For the Hispanic Americans, achievement means to reach or attain, connoting a progress which makes one happy as a consequence, while the Anglo American views achievement primarily as a goal directed activity by which success is measured in terms of the personal and the social consequences of awards, honors, and money.

This statement fits with the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:17) definition of a doing orientation which emphasizes accomplishments which are measurable by standards conceived to be external to the acting individual; the being orientation, on the other hand, focuses more on the self-realization of the person and the effects of achievement on an internal sense of well-being.

Lastly, Szalay (1978:134) argues that Hispanics are generally more preoccupied than Anglos with the quality of life and human experience. He states:

The affective dimension of experience is greatly emphasized. For them, life means to experience joy, happiness, beauty and peace. However, they also mention some negative aspects, such as struggle and sorrow.

Christian's (1970:395) comments also seem consistent with the above mentioned views:

Hispanic traditions do not give much importance to daily work, necessary for subsistence, but confer a sense of sublimity to work which represents what a person is in *essence*.

Arguments Against a Being Orientation

Many authors argue against, or appear to question the attribution of a dominant being orientation in Mexican American culture. Achor (1978:113-114), for example, argues that many traditional values (including fatalism, present time orientation, and being over doing) were agrarian characteristics and hence, are greatly diminished in the current predominantly urban Mexican American population. She further claims that while some Mexican Americans continue to hold traditional values, the majority express and pursue the American Dream with goals of a good education for their children, material success, and a secure old age. Achor (1978:118) also argues that the majority of Mexican Americans subscribe to the (Protestant) work ethic, including those who are most ethnically conservative. She feels that the major difference between Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans is not in their goals but rather in their respective opportunities to realize their goals.

The conclusions of the study conducted by Grebler and his associates (1970:438-439) in Los Angeles and San Antonio were that Mexican Americans do *not* appear to possess distinctly traditional values of the kind frequently

attributed to them. They state (1970:438-439): "Generally, however, the ethnic values bearing on achievement seem to be far less tenacious and far less pervasive than the main literature and its principal users suggest." In questions designed to tap into attitudes toward "mastery" or "activism" via planning, the study (1970:436-437) found no support for the notion that Mexican Americans are either extraordinarily passive or that they are attached to their relatives to the detriment of achievement. They conclude (p.438) that Mexican Americans do believe in potential mastery of the environment.

Ramos (1979:49-58) and others argue that many so-called traditional Mexican American values are not a function of Mexican American culture but rather are characteristics of the sub-culture of poverty. He explains, for example, that although Mexican American parents (in Colorado) kept their children home from school more often than Anglos, this reflected a lack of money to buy warm winter clothing and not a disinterest or apathetic attitude toward the education of their children. Ramos relates non-goal orientation to the small chances or opportunities for realizing aspirations.

With regard to Puerto Ricans, several authors make statements and observations that are quite suggestive of a doing orientation. Safa (1974:33; 105), for example, argues that the fatalistic syndrome has been replaced by the Protestant Work Ethic. Padilla (1964/1958:257) observes that working hard and being a "good" worker were important values of Puerto Rican migrants to New York. She claims that for the new migrant being employed was highly preferred and an end value in itself; a "good" man expected to work and to work hard at his job. Statements by Rogler (1972:205) and Mintz (1966:369-370) also support an image of Puerto Ricans who give a high value to work and action. Buitrago (1970:28-29) also argues for an "activist conception of life" which he labels a struggle-tragedy value orientation: "The person

does not wait till circumstances provide him with the means for his various activities. The actor sees every situation as a sort of challenge."

The majority of writers on Cubans in the United States seem to emphasize a doing orientation in Cuban culture. Portes (1969:517), for example, discusses the ethic of upper and middle sectors of the Cuban population: "It emphasized individualism, self-concern, personal rights, and improvement of one's position in the stratification system as one's main worldly goal." Gil (1976:139-140) also argues that Cuban traditional values emphasized hard work, deferred gratification, future orientation and competition. Pérez (1980) also discusses a strong Cuban American preoccupation with and striving for success.

Szapocznik (1978a:963-965) hypothesized originally that Cuban immigrants would prefer being to doing, however, the research did not support his supposition. In another paper (1978b:115) he argues that Cubans demonstrate a preference for a doing orientation: "the study revealed that Cuban immigrants also tended to value doing as an activity orientation."

Final Summary

There appears to be some consensus in the literature that Hispanic culture emphasizes the being orientation to a greater extent than is true for Anglo American culture. Certain themes, which relate to a being orientation, appear repeatedly in the literature. These include a more spiritual and poetic approach to life, an evaluation of individual worth which goes beyond judgments based on accomplishments, a non-materialist concern with the quality of life and existence, etc. However, it is far from clear that a being orientation is necessarily the first order preference for Hispanics. Many writers emphasize aspects of Hispanic culture which are consistent with a doing orientation. Part of the problem is that the issue is frequently cast in either/or terms, when in reality Hispanic and other

cultures contain a blend of various elements. It does not appear to be necessary, as some authors tend to do, to negate activism in order to argue for a being orientation.

Another point which emerges clearly is that Hispanic culture in the United States is in a process of change. Most authors who argue for a predominant being orientation derive this judgment from research carried out with the most rural and traditional segment of the Hispanic population. It is far from clear in the literature the extent to which a being orientation is retained when factors such as acculturation, generation and socioeconomic status are considered. Further research could be designed to more accurately assess the activity value orientations of Hispanics.

Individualism - Collectivism

Definition

The last value orientation in the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:17-19) framework is called the relational orientation and it refers to the basic principles by which human beings relate to other human beings in a society. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck identify three basic types of relational principles: the lineal, the collateral, and individualism. Both the lineal and the collateral orientations are found in collectivist systems which stress the primacy of the goals and welfare of the group over those of the individual. The collateral principle is defined as peer oriented; the prototype would be the relationship among siblings. The lineal orientation is hierarchical; relationships are often ordered by the biological givens of age and generation. For our purposes we will classify the lineal and collateral principles into one, namely a collectivist orientation which is defined as an emphasis on the group; generally the welfare and goals of the group are more important than those of the individual.

The principle of individualism, as one might expect, is one in which the goals and welfare of the individual have priority over the group. Individuals are viewed as more or less autonomous whereas in collectivist systems they tend to be identified primarily in terms of their group membership. In societies with the individualism principle the independence of individuals is stressed; in collectivist systems interdependence is stressed. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck point out that individualism does not mean that each individual is necessarily selfishly pursuing his or her own self interest, but rather that individuals are primarily viewed as autonomous and independent.

As with the other value orientations, it is important to point out that all societies make use of all three relational principles in varying

degrees. For example, in the United States individualism predominates (e.g. Hofstede, 1980) and yet one can discover spheres of life, such as in the family, where a more collectivist orientation operates. Again, what Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck tried to ascertain was the rank order positions of the relational principles. Collectivist societies can contain elements of individualism, and societies characterized by individualism can contain elements of collectivism. The object was to determine the relative importance of the various relational principles in a culture.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:18) make a further distinction between individuality and individualism which is very important for an understanding of Hispanic culture. Individuality, they state, is a certain amount of recognition of individual uniqueness which is found in all societies, whereas individualism as a principle gives priority to the individual over the group.

Further clarity is provided in Gillin's (1965:507) discussion of ethos components in modern Latin American culture in which he analyzes the difference between the North American and the Latin American concept of the individual. Both North and South Americans, he states, place a high value on individuality, however, the Latin notion is that each person is valuable because of a unique inner quality or worth which he or she possesses. The North American view is that the individual merits respect because he has the right to be considered "just as good as the next person." While the North American concept is founded on an assumption of potential equality with others, the Latin view incorporates an assumption of social inequality and places value on the individual precisely because he is not like anyone else. The Latin view accords each individual an inner dignity and worth which is unrelated to achievements and/or social position. According to Gillin (1965:508), the obligation to defend one's own inner worth or integrity and the necessity of respecting it in others underlie a good part of Hispanic social relations.

Initial Summary

There seems to be far more consensus in the literature on the relational principles of Hispanic culture than was true for the previously discussed value orientations. The majority of authors stress two main points. First, they emphasize the importance of individuality in Hispanic culture. Generally this is distinguished from individualism. The Hispanic concept of individuality focuses on the unique inner quality or worth of each individual. The second point made by many authors is that Hispanic culture emphasizes a collectivist principle to a far greater degree than does Anglo American culture. The group and group loyalties are generally described as playing a far more important role in Hispanic culture than is true for Anglo American culture. Lastly, there are several authors who dispute these attributions. Arguments on both sides of the issue will be reviewed.

Individuality in Hispanic Culture

Several writers, including Grebler et al. (1970), Madsen (1973) and Saunders (1954), emphasize the importance of individuality in Mexican American culture. Saunders (1954:54), for example, emphasizes both individuality and collectivism. He states that in Mexican American villages there was a high degree of cooperation and a tendency to subordinate the individual to the community group. However, he goes on to say that this tendency to accept and conform did not mean that the individual lacked individuality or was content to be undifferentiated from the group. He states (1954:132) that there was a need to be recognized for personal qualities which found expression through personal relationships, *machismo*, outbursts of temper and sometimes overt aggression, and public speaking. Saunders makes the following distinction between Mexican American and Anglo individualism:

This [Mexican American individualism] is not the rugged individualism of the Anglos, which stresses independence and the obligation of the individual

by his own efforts to wrest from a hostile environment what he wants. It is rather an individualism of being rather than doing, a need that is satisfied by recognition rather than by accomplishment.

Grebler and his associates (1970:420) make the point that the social science literature on Mexican American culture stresses the value which it places on the completeness and adequacy of the individual who has a greater range of inner freedoms (than Anglos). Madsen (1973:15) claims that Mexican Americans feel that Anglos will fit into almost any organization whereas they feel that they (Mexican Americans) do their own thinking, arrive at their own convictions, and maintain their inner integrity. Madsen (1973:20) also makes the comment that *machismo* demands a high degree of individuality outside the family circle.

Many writers on Puerto Rico also stress the importance of individuality and they generally distinguish this from individualism. Fitzpatrick (1971:90) for example, describes it as a form of individualism which focuses on the inner importance and dignity of the person. Wagenheim (1972:211-212) also notes a belief in the innate worth and uniqueness of each man: he observes that this sense of worthiness is independent of considerations of social equality. Wagenheim links this type of individuality - with its strong emphasis on personal dignity and respect - to the general reluctance of individuals to join groups such as clubs or committees. He claims that people do not want to merge themselves with a group.

Christian (1970:385-393), in an article entitled "Caracterizacion De Los Temas Culturales En Hispanoamerica," emphasizes both "individualism" and the cultural theme of orientation to other people. He too asserts that Hispanic "individualism" is distinct from the North American concept of individualism:

Individualism in Spanish America appears to be of the "emotive" type and not a "cognitive" individualism. That is to say, it is an individualism based on the

fact that man is biologically and historically unique, taking part in biological and historical processes that all come together in one point - his own life.

He further describes how every Hispanic individual seeks to affirm or establish his own identity independent of the group, to assert his right to experiment with "his life in his own, unique and personal way." Despite the basic orientation to others, Christian argues that "within Hispanic-American culture, man is very seldom conceived of as an element in a human collectivity..."

Wells (1969:24) describes Puerto Rican individuality as the conviction that each person has an intrinsic worth or integrity. He too makes the point that this belief in the worth of the individual is independent of considerations of social equality. He clearly distinguishes between the North American and the Latin concept of the individual:

The conception is not to be confused with Anglo-American notions of individualism. Whereas the American view stresses individual rights, personal initiative, private enterprise, equality of opportunity and the like, the Hispanic attitude is indifferent to all such considerations. Its focus is on the distinctive inner quality of the individual personality.

Wells (1969:34) also links the Hispanic conception of the individual to a general reluctance to become involved in joint or cooperative ventures.

Diaz-Royo (1974:228-229;232) makes the following observations about individuality in a Puerto Rican highland community:

Dignidad is the highest expression of a positive social identity made possible to the extent to which actors acknowledge each other's unique individuality...

Members of this community safeguard their cherished identity as a *jobero*, *moroveño* and *puertorriqueño* by carefully protecting their individuality. Their individuality is sheer being, which in turn is respected and validated by others.

Mintz (1966:371) also notes that a value statement which finds a good deal of support in the literature was "the belief in the integrity

of the individual as based upon an inner worth, unrelated to worldly status or accomplishment." Elsewhere (p.415) he argues for the importance of individuality in Puerto Rican culture:

Puerto Ricans also stress individuality more than they do the needs or good of the collectivity. This finding may occasion surprise, since much has been said and written of the collectivistic and familistic spirit of the Puerto Rican people...[my literature review] finds that individualism (with, of course, very active concern for the needs of one's immediate family) is very strong...Cooperativeness and group-oriented activity are important and even essential in some lower-class communities, and yet the stress on individual fate seems equally important.

The work of Saavedra de Roca (1963) also, according to Mintz, analyzes individualism (of the Hispanic variety) to be a prevailing Puerto Rican value. Buitrago's (1970:33) work also seems to suggest the importance of individuality; he notes a "subtle attempt to be different or independent of the communal context."

Writers on Cubans also emphasize the importance of individuality in Cuban culture, however, some authors describe a Hispanic type of individuality and other authors describe an individualism which seems more consistent with North America individualism. The Cuban individuality described in the following passage by MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:90) is remarkably similar to statements made regarding Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans:

Cubans, like other Latin Americans, value highly the dignity of the person, the distinctive and innate worth of each individual, but individuality is defined more in terms of personal qualities than of individual rights...Individuality is partly a personal achievement, partly a product of one's home environment, family traditions, associations, and parental inheritance. The ideal person is interesting and valuable because he is unlike anyone else, not because his qualities themselves are necessarily approximate to ideal qualities. The concern for personal dignity, together with the complex of political and social attitudes arising from it, is called *personalismo*.

Alum (1977:12), in his essay on the values of Cuban Americans, emphasizes

the point that Cubans value individualism and that they are group-oriented. Alum defines Cuban individualism as a form of national and personal pride.

Other writers discuss a somewhat different version of Cuban individualism. Moreno (1971:471-472;486) emphasizes the concept of individual rights and he links Cuban individualism to the stage of liberal capitalism in Cuba. He states:

...emphasis on the worth and rights of the individual above and beyond those of the collectivity helped set the stage for those in privileged positions to take the leading roles for themselves to the exclusion of others.

...Such a value system emphasizing primarily the rights of the individual, particularly his political freedom, his right to private property, and his right to compete with others in a situation of relative deprivation. The rights of the collectivity were recognized inasmuch as they helped to preserve and further the rights of the individual.

Portes (1969:517) also links Cuban individualism to the capitalist stage of Cuban history. He states that the individualistic ethic of the Cuban upper and middle classes was basically the same ethic which characterizes North American society. This ethic, according to Portes, emphasized "individualism, self-concern, personal rights, and improvement of one's position in the stratification system as one's main worldly goals."

In summary, there are two rather different versions of Cuban individualism discussed in the literature. One version is consistent with the already described concept of Hispanic individuality with its emphasis on the unique and inner worth of the individual regardless of socio-economic status and achievements. The second version of Cuban individualism is similar to North American individualism and is suggestive of a commonality of values in the upper sectors of capitalist societies.

Szalay (1978:151), writing on Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area, provides another account of individuality which is distinguished from Anglo

individualism. After stressing the group- and others-orientation of Hispanics, he goes on to state:

This is not to say that the Hispanic-American is unconcerned with individuality - on the contrary, the notion of individuality receives considerable attention and is conceived of as the uniqueness of each person. A generally high tolerance for individual expressiveness, however, is not to be confused with an acceptance of the individualistic pursuit of personal goals and satisfactions, a characteristically Anglo-American value.

Again we have a statement, this time referring to Central and South Americans in the United States, which distinguishes the Hispanic concept of individuality from the principle of individualism.

In summary, the literature provides a remarkably consistent description of a Hispanic emphasis on individuality, an individuality which is fundamentally different from individualism. It is an individuality which recognizes the essential worthiness and uniqueness of each individual. Dignity and self-respect are not necessarily connected to socio-economic status, occupation or accomplishments. As one writer commented, it is more an "individualism of being." Most writers also agree that the Hispanic emphasis on individuality is fundamentally different from the North American value on individualism. North American individualism, which views each individual as independent, autonomous, and to a certain extent self-seeking, is generally not attributed to Hispanic culture. Rather, most authors suggest that Hispanic culture simultaneously emphasizes both individuality and a collective orientation. The individual is recognized but the interests and welfare of the group comes first.

Collectivism in Hispanic Culture

A collectivist orientation in Mexican American culture is referred to in a variety of ways by a large number of authors. Beginning with some early work, Mead (1953:172) notes that, in New Mexico, children were socialized to

be interdependent and modest and to not push themselves forward. She observes: "It is threatening to stand out from the group." She consistently stresses the social and gregarious aspects of New Mexican life and remarks (p. 177) that there was a marked anxiety over being alone. She also states (p. 191): "There is an attitude of acceptance toward the hierarchy combined with a fear of ostracism for standing out from the group that operates to keep Spanish Americans out of competitive work situations."

Saunders (1954:54) links to the village background the Spanish American emphasis on cooperation and the subordination of the individual to the community group. He claims (p. 134) that independence was not so highly valued as in Anglo culture and that the unit of independence was not the individual but the village. He describes the village as composed of extended families which were woven together by reciprocal relations and mutual interdependencies.

The Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck study (1961), also carried out in New Mexico, concludes that Spanish Americans place a high value on hierarchical lineality (collectivism), although they remark on a shift occurring toward greater individualism. Knowlton (1973:298) also stresses the strength of the New Mexican village communities before the 1930s. He notes that the villages were strong sociopsychological units and that a person's main identification was with the village. Villages were composed of related families and family members expected to work closely together.

Heller (1968:20) also argues that the lineal principle (collectivism) is dominant in Mexican American culture; she describes it as a hierarchy of ordered positions reflected in strong family and kinship ties. Shannon (1968:39), in research comparing Anglos, Blacks and Mexican Americans in Racine, Wisconsin, notes that the Mexican Americans scored highest on group-orientation. Madsen (1973:48), whose research was carried out in Texas, also argues for a collectivist orientation linked to the importance

of the Mexican American family. Madsen sees Hispanic familism as in direct conflict with the Anglo value of individualism. Goodman and Beman (1968:95), who studied Mexican American children in an urban *barrio*, discuss the "others-orientation" of the children. They claim that the Mexican American children always placed family and kin first and that work at home was valued less for itself or as personal achievement than as participation and a contribution to the larger endeavor of the unit. Smith (1968:128-129), in a discussion of Mexican American migrant workers in Florida, also stresses the strong group cohesion; in this case she claims that the work group took priority over the kin group. In summary, the above authors emphasize a collectivist orientation in Mexican American culture; the goals and welfare of the group are given higher priority than the goals of individuals.

A relatively negative interpretation of the Hispanic tendency toward collectivism argues that Mexican American culture produces more dependent individuals. More group-oriented persons are seen as lacking the individualism necessary for aspirations, taking the initiative, self-advancement and upward mobility (e.g. Madsen, 1973:48). Heller (1968:38), for example, claims that Mexican American children are trained for dependent behavior and will therefore seldom take the initiative. This general critique implies that the collectivist orientation produces individuals who are not sufficiently autonomous or self-reliant. It is clear that these authors consider the North American version of individualism to be the ideal.

Other authors have argued for a far more positive interpretation of the Mexican American collectivist orientation. They see Mexican American culture as producing individuals who are more capable of cooperation in general. Rivera (1970:49), for example, states that a Mexican American norm or motivational set is cooperation rather than competition as adjunct to achievement, and the sharing of resources, even to the extent of self-sacrifice, to help others fulfill their life goals.

Psychological research, carried out primarily with children, generally supports the hypothesis that Mexican American children are more cooperative than Anglo children. Kagan and Madsen (1971:32-39) found that in tasks requiring cooperation, Mexican children did best, Mexican American children did second best and Anglo children came third. Studies carried out by McClintock (1976:126-132), in which he compared Anglo and Mexican American children in terms of competitive behavior, showed that in each older age grade all the children showed an increase in competitive behavior but that the Anglo children were always more competitive than the Mexican American children. Kagan (1977:72-74), in a review of all psychological research done between 1970 and 1977 on the competition-cooperation theme, concludes tentatively that the evidence suggests that Mexican American children are indeed more cooperative and that they are oriented toward greater group enhancement and/or altruistic motives than are Anglo children.

Two apparently contradictory sets of statements often made about Mexican Americans are that they have a tendency toward mutual aid (e.g. Forbes, 1970:16 and Gonzalez, 1967:91) and yet are not joiners of voluntary or other types of organizations (e.g. Gonzalez, 1967:87-89, Heller, 1968:102, and Tuck, 1974/1946:159). The tendency toward mutual aid, particularly within the in-group, or extended family, is consistent with the general collectivist orientation. The tendency away from organizations might be linked in part to the emphasis on individuality. Wells' (1969:34) explanation is as follows:

Although the traditional Spaniard or Spanish American may enter wholeheartedly into personal relations with another individual he fights shy of involvement with organized groups. He resists merging his own personality with that of others in any joint or cooperative endeavor, whether of a business, social or civic nature. He is not a "joiner", nor is he organization-minded. Fear of loss of personal identity makes it difficult for him to form strong institutional attachments outside the family, which indeed is regarded not as an institution but as a projection of the self.

Generally then the literature seems to suggest a strong collectivist orientation within a more narrow in-group and a heavy emphasis on individuality which operates against larger-scale collective action or organizations. It is not really clear how far Rivera's norm of cooperative behavior or the evidence from psychology regarding children's cooperative behavior goes in terms of a collectivist orientation both in terms of adulthood and in terms of going beyond the smaller in-group.

One last illustration of the collectivist orientation is found in some of the descriptions of Mexican American responses to illness. The literature generally stresses that illness and treatment are dealt with as a group. Mead (1953:183-184) notes, for example, that the sick are never separated from the group, and that (p. 193) the contamination is not thought to come from one's own group. Clark (1959:203-204) also notes that illness for Mexican Americans is a social rather than an individual crisis and she describes how the final authority for decisions regarding the sick person lie with the family group rather than with the sick individual.

The collectivist orientation in Puerto Rican culture also seems to operate primarily in terms of individuals' identification with the family group. Fitzpatrick (1971:91), for example, observes that the Puerto Rican individual is deeply rooted in the family. Padilla (1964/1958:169-170) notes that the achievement of individuals were encouraged only in terms of the family, and she goes on to state:

This emphasis on the family as the center of an adult's obligations is cultivated from early childhood, while individuality and interest in doing things just for oneself are discouraged as being of no value. Success and achievement on the part of the individual are encouraged as ways by which he can help his family. Doing things for oneself is just "not right" but to do things for others and to recognize this as an obligation are characteristics of a virtuous person. Individuality and self-assertiveness are not so highly prized socially as are dependency and reliance through mutual obligations.

Padilla (p. 181) also makes the point that independence and self-reliance are not encouraged in children.

Landy (1959:161; 245) also argues that dependency is an ever-recurrent theme in Puerto Rican socialization. He states that the culture is predominately "other-directed" or "other-oriented". Wells (1969:44-45) claims that neither sons nor daughters in a traditional family were allowed to develop feelings of independence. He observes that in traditional families children learn attitudinal and behavioral patterns that promote family solidarity, bonds of mutual obligation and loyalty.

Other authors comment on more general tendencies toward a collectivist orientation above and beyond the immediate family. Mintz (1956:412), for example, notes that in the mono class sugar cane worker community "a premium is put upon group solidarity." Wolf (1956:221) notes that in the community which he studied there was a general expectation that children quickly develop a sense of cooperation. He argues that cooperation is the keynote of economic and social processes in the *barrio* and must be inculcated early. Ross (1977:7), in an essay written to advise teachers how to better understand Puerto Rican children, stresses the importance of comprehending the children's deep sense of personal commitment to friends. She also observes that the Puerto Rican child's dependence on others for assistance should not be misinterpreted as immaturity.

Mintz (1966:371), in a review of the literature on Puerto Rican culture, notes that the following value statement was considerably supported: a dependence on the opinions of others in forming and maintaining one's opinion of oneself, accompanied by a strong gregariousness and dislike of solitude and loneliness; and a dependence on others. The following statement by Kathleen Wolf also points to the theme of gregariousness as opposed to privacy in Puerto Rican life:

The child of Poyal becomes accustomed to noise and movement around him...His sleep is not considered sacred, and he is expected to fall asleep with the radio playing, lights lit, and the sound of voices around him. The child of Poyal...will never know what privacy is in the continental American sense. Houses do not provide privacy, and privacy is not valued; instead a person who seeks privacy is considered to have strange tastes.

Rogler (1940:179) also describes a basic gregariousness in Puerto Rican culture:

If a Comerieno is alone, he is very likely to be lonesome, or as he describes it, *triste* (sad). If he is not lonesome when alone, he is likely to be considered "peculiar." Activities conducted in privacy are unpopular. Comerio is "full of life", and a public life at that.

Articles by Buitrago (1970:18; 44-49) and Christian (1970:393-394) also discuss the Puerto Rican cultural theme of orientation toward others.

Christian argues: "Only through contact with the others does the individual learn to experiment with who he is." Buitrago observes that public life is very important; his descriptions seem to imply that the individual is only realized in terms of his interactions with others. Solitude or being alone is equated with being miserable. Buitrago (p. 44) argues:

Socialization is another very important value orientation. It is notable for a complete opening up to the other. Ego goes public, exteriorizes himself. He observes the other (alter), seeks communication, greets him, the critical point which induces him to interact with others. In this value orientation we are in a totally communal sphere. This concept of the public (domain) starts from a position, from a network of relations in which ego is embedded.

It also seems probable that hospitality, for which Latin Americans in general are so famous (see Buitrago, 1970, and Ramirez, 1964, for discussions of Puerto Rican hospitality) is also an aspect of the stronger "orientation toward others" in Hispanic culture.

Cubans are described in terms very similar to those already mentioned for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Alum (1977:12) argues that Cubans are group oriented. Szapocznik (1978a:961;965, 1978b:112, 1980:66) and his associates found that Cubans tended to prefer lineality (collectivism) whereas the Anglo American subjects tended to prefer individualism. He makes the point that Cubans preferred to function within hierarchical relationships as a preferred mode of interpersonal relations.

Lastly, Gil (1976:95) describes a basic gregariousness. He states:

Cubans in Los Angeles exhibit the same instinctively gregarious nature which typifies their interactions in their homeland. Here, family, kin structures, and friendships have survived more or less intact.

Gil (1976:110) also describes how this gregariousness was expressed in a proliferation of Cuban clubs, groups and associations.

Both Szalay (1978) and Turner (1980), writing on Hispanics in the United States, strongly emphasize that one of the major differences between Hispanic and Anglo American culture is this difference between Hispanic collectivism and Anglo individualism. Turner (1980:4), for example, argues:

Practically all domains of behavior of individuals of these two cultures can be attributed to two characteristics: the individualism of the Anglo-American and the personalism which characterizes Hispanic-Americans...The Hispanic-American identifies himself most frequently in the context of group membership... he perceives behavior as being organized around larger group goals, and his focus is on those attributes and qualities which enhance group solidarity, such as loyalty and understanding...

Szalay's (1978:viii; 43; 147; 151; 158) research repeatedly stresses the same point. He argues that his findings demonstrate that two different dominant modes of interpersonal relations characterize the two cultures; individualism characterizes Anglo American culture and personalism (collectivism) characterizes Hispanic American culture. He argues (p. 151):

For the Hispanic American self identification most frequently in the context of group membership

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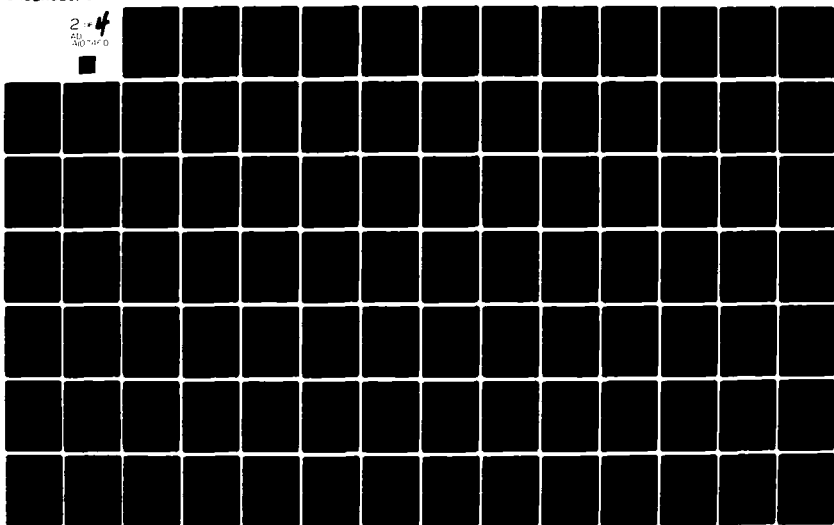
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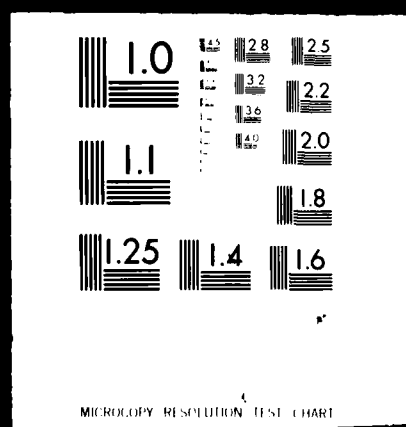
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Thus, at a very basic level, the individual is seen to affirm the interdependencies and the inter-relatedness of human existence. Furthermore, the establishment of relationships between persons is not seen as an end in itself, but rather as being in the service of larger human collectives (such as the family or community). This Hispanic inclination to locate the self with reference to other members of the group is at the heart of the Hispanic world view or philosophy of social personalism and stands in strong contrast to the Anglo American philosophy of individualism.

Szalay views the fundamental premises of individualism as alien to Hispanic culture. Individuals, he states, do not represent only themselves: "People are seen to represent their families and close personal ties in all social transactions - as we have already seen, the very essence of the self is located in these relationships to others." Hispanic individuality, according to Szalay, is subordinated to the "oneness" of the group.

In summary then, this section has reviewed observations and statements in support of the proposition that Hispanic culture favors a collectivist orientation. Although the majority of writers support this position there are also a few writers who question these assertions. These critiques will now be reviewed.

Critiques of a Collectivist Orientation in Hispanic Culture

Several authors writing on Mexican Americans question the validity of attributing a more collectivist orientation to Hispanic culture. Ramos (1979:60), for example, again links the group orientation of Mexican Americans to the sub-culture of poverty. He argues that a high level of mutual aid and interdependency is functionally related not to ethnicity but to the situation of poverty.

Most social science critiques, however, focus on the dynamics of change and the movement away from traditional cultural values. Achor (1978:3-4) makes the point that many of the commonly cited "Mexican American values" are really agrarian values which have been transformed in the urban

context. She asserts (p. 123) that among the more assimilationist oriented Mexican Americans in Dallas there was a clear tendency to train their children for individualism, with a stress on accomplishment, achievement and competitiveness. Peñalosa (1970:43) also documents a process of change from lower-class Mexican traditional culture toward Anglo middle-class culture. He claims (p. 48), for example, that the emphasis on the extended family and the institution of co-parenthood (*compadrazgo*) are diminishing among Mexican Americans.

The Grebler study (1970:352) specifically challenged and questioned the extent of familism today. Their study documented (p. 354) that Mexican American relations with the extended kin group have declined with increasing urbanization, acculturation and contact with the dominant society. They also found that the institution of *compadrazgo* was declining among all classes of Mexican Americans and they claim that it is but a minor feature of Mexican American life in urban centers. In questions (p. 438) designed to tap attitudes toward group identification and allegiance, the study found that the majority of Mexican Americans showed an attitude of independence from relatives with regard to achievement.

Other writers also comment on the process of value change among Mexican Americans (e.g. Burma, 1970:3-4 and Madsen, 1973:34-43). Even Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) point to an anticipated change from collectivism to individualism.

With regard to Puerto Rican culture, several authors also emphasize the on-going processes of change with regard to this value orientation. Landy (1959:93), for example, observes that "in a world of raised levels of aspiration and greater desires, traditional family obligations have given way to a more self-oriented attitude." Mintz (1956:412) argues that economic changes occurring in Puerto Rico had the following impact on sugar cane

workers: "Epitomizing these contradictions is a faint but mounting struggle between an increasing emphasis on individualism and individual performance as opposed to the more firmly established reliance on group identity as the basis on local life."

Lastly, Moreno (1971:473) argues that in comparison to the collectivist goals of the Cuban revolution, the Cuban refugees can only be viewed as highly individualistic.

Final Summary

There is a relatively high level of agreement in the literature regarding the relational value orientation in Hispanic culture. Most authors stress two themes: individuality and a more collectivistic orientation. Hispanic individuality is generally sharply distinguished from North American style individualism. It is usually defined as emphasizing an acceptance of the value and worth of each individual which is unconnected to socio-economic status or accomplishments. Dignity and respect are two closely related concepts. According to many authors, the individual in Hispanic culture is valued not because he is as good as everyone else but rather because he is essentially different and unique.

At the same time, most authors emphasize that Hispanic culture is more collectivistic than Anglo American culture. The group and group membership are important aspects of Hispanic life. Individuals are not expected to be autonomous and independent from others; rather, interdependency is stressed. Hispanics are frequently described as more socially embedded, more cooperative, less competitive, and more "others-oriented" than Anglos. Some authors draw attention to a basic gregariousness in Hispanic culture and a concomitant devaluation of privacy. Some authors discuss Hispanic collectivism in terms of lineality; others call it personalism.

Several authors question the picture of Hispanic values which predominates in the literature. Most of these writers emphasize the fact that Hispanic Americans are or have already changed. They point to a diminished importance for the group, in particular the extended family and fictive kinship, and an increase in individualism among Hispanics. Further research might be useful for determining more precisely the extent of change among Hispanics in the United States.

Uncertainty Avoidance

Definition

This value orientation, identified and defined by Hofstede (1980), refers to a society's attitudes and behaviors with regard to the rules, implicit and explicit, formal and informal, generated by that society.

Hofstede's (1980:154-155) explanation is:

Extreme uncertainty creates intolerable anxiety, and human society have developed ways to cope with the inherent uncertainty of our living on the brink of an uncertain future. These ways belong to the domains of technology, law, and religion; I use the terms in a broad sense. Technology includes all human artifacts; law, all formal and informal rules that guide social behavior; religion, all revealed knowledge of the unknown...Different societies have adapted to uncertainty in different ways. These ways not only differ between traditional and modern societies, but even among modern societies. Ways of coping with uncertainty belong to the cultural heritage of societies and they are transferred and reinforced through basic institutions like the family, the school, and the state. They are reflected in collectively held values of the members of a particular society.

Uncertainty avoidance is not conceptualized as present or absent but rather as high or low on a continuum. All societies have a need for certainty, security, rules and norms, although some societies manifest a greater need than others. In societies with higher uncertainty avoidance the norms and rules of behavior in general, and interpersonal relations in particular, are clearer and carry more authority. Uncertainty avoidance appears to be related to the cultural dimension which Pelto (1968) called "tight" versus "loose." In tight cultures, such as Greece and Japan, people are expected to conform to norms rather rigidly and inflexibly; norms are clear, numerous and more definitely enforced. In loose cultures the norms are less clear and they are not always enforced. In Hofstede's study the highest scores on uncertainty avoidance were obtained in Greece, Japan and most Catholic countries, particularly Latin America. Low scores were obtained in Hong Kong, Singapore, and in Scandinavian countries.

Hofstede (1980:176-177) provides a lengthy list of some of the connotations of uncertainty avoidance. Some which might be appropriate to Hispanic cultures include: loyalty to employers seen as a virtue, less achievement motivation, fear of failure, less risk taking, a greater generation gap, a tendency toward gerontocracy, hierarchical structures of organizations should be clear and respected, and a preference for clear requirements and instructions. Others listed by Hofstede seem less appropriate to Latin culture, for example: more worry about the future and a preference for larger organizations as employers. Hofstede (1980:184) also provides a list of norms which correlate with high uncertainty avoidance. Some which might be appropriate to Hispanic culture include: more showing of emotions, conflict and competition can unleash aggression and should therefore be avoided, and a search for ultimate, absolute truths and values. Others which seem less appropriate to Latin culture are: strong superegos, time is money, an inner urge to work hard, concern with security in life, and achievement defined in terms of security rather than recognition. The interested reader is referred to Hofstede for a more extended discussion of the connotations and correlates of uncertainty avoidance.

A useful conceptual distinction, not made by Hofstede, is the one which some social scientists draw between prescribed and enacted norms. Prescribed norms refer to the idealized version of the rules by which a society operates; one might call this set of norms the "shoulds" of behavior. Enacted norms refer to the actual and commonly accepted rules for normal daily interaction, the often tacitly agreed upon rules which govern the limits of acceptable behavior. Some authors (e.g. Wagley, 1968) call this the distinction between the ideal and the real. Sometimes these two sets of norms coincide closely and sometimes there is considerable distance between the two. For example, the prescribed and enacted norms of Orthodox Jews are relatively close together: the socio-cultural system lays great

stress on the actualization of idealized rules and regulations. In contrast, many Caribbean societies exhibit a large discrepancy between the prescribed and enacted norms with regard to marriage unions. While the prescribed norms favor formal marriage, the enacted norms include acceptance for consensual unions. Hence, what we are suggesting here is that it is useful to examine both the prescribed or ideal norms and the actual rules and regulations that shape and structure human interaction in a culture. This author also considers it highly probable that cultural systems which are relatively stable will be characterized by a high congruence between prescribed and enacted norms, whereas societies which are undergoing processes of change will be characterized by a greater discrepancy between prescribed and enacted norms.

Initial Summary

It is not really possible to do more than speculate, in an informed fashion, about the norm structure and uncertainty avoidance in Hispanic American culture. The concept of uncertainty avoidance is nowhere discussed in the social science literature on Hispanics. Given this *caveat*, we will proceed to venture some tentative generalizations on the topic.

Hofstede's (1980) findings indicate a high level of uncertainty avoidance in most Catholic countries and particularly Latin America. From this, we might assume that at least a moderately high level of uncertainty avoidance continues to characterize Hispanic Americans. And indeed, certain topics discussed in the literature, particularly regarding Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, do seem suggestive of a high level of uncertainty avoidance, a "tight" rather than a "loose" configuration. For example, the importance of following the norms governing interpersonal behavior is discussed, directly or indirectly, by many authors. It appears to this author that the Hispanic norms for interpersonal interactions - the code of

appropriate conduct - are generally more clearly defined and followed than is true for Anglo culture.

However, this author also feels that a few qualifying statements should be made. Ethnographic accounts make it fairly clear, for example, that there has always been a significant degree of flexibility in Hispanic norms. No one familiar with Latin Americans would venture to say that they are slavish and inflexible followers of rules and regulations. Rather, a spirit of compromise, some might say realism, enables Latins to find ways to circumvent or overcome obstacles and transform insupportable situations into tolerable ones.

What this author is suggesting is that there have always been areas of life in which Hispanics tolerated a considerable laxity in conformity to rules, where there was quite some distance between prescribed and enacted norms. The area of religion is an example. Not only are Latins generally known to be tolerant of the diverse religions of others, they are also generally tolerant of religious diversity among themselves. The relative degree of acceptance which many Latins demonstrate for folk Catholicism and other more syncretized religions which deviate from the prescribed and often formally adhered to norms of the Roman Catholic Church is well-documented. However, in other areas of life, such as sex roles and certain cherished cultural ideals, the tolerance for discrepancy between prescribed and enacted norms is much lower.

The final point to be made involves cultural change in the United States. The power of traditional Hispanic norms, more easily enforced and transmitted from generation to generation in the village or small community, must certainly have diminished somewhat among Hispanics in the United States today who are predominantly urban and increasingly in contact with the dominant society. The distance between prescribed and enacted norms, such as the ideal of chaperoned courtship and the growing acceptance of co-ed activities and dating, might be expected to be increasing for Hispanics.

Discussion of Uncertainty Avoidance in Hispanic Culture

The close relationship between parents and children and the generally more protective stance of Hispanic parents with regard to their children could be related to uncertainty avoidance. Kagan (1977:78), drawing on information in the literature, notes that Mexican American parents generally restrict their children more, such as in play or decision-making, than do Anglo parents. The control of childrens' behavior, usually referred to as discipline, is often mentioned as of the utmost importance to Hispanic parents in general; its breakdown in the North American context is often mentioned as a problem of high concern to Hispanic parents. The inculcation of "correct behavior" or "educated manners" (Romano, 1960) in children is constantly stressed in the literature.

The literature on Puerto Ricans gives a picture of a child socialization in which dependency is encouraged (Landy, 1959:179, 245; Mintz, 1966:371, Padilla, 1964/1958:148, Wells, 1969:45). Independence and self-reliance are not encouraged in the child; rather, the child should be obedient, respectful and docile. A "good" child, according to Padilla (1964/1958:185), is one who has *capacidad* or maturity, which means that the child can follow orders and handle situations in an appropriate fashion. It does not mean a child who takes the initiative without the consent of the parents.

Landy (1959:99) observes that children are generally regarded as "without capacity" (*capacidad*), i.e. lacking in the ability to think for themselves. He also notes (p. 136-137) that children were restricted in terms of their physical mobility and that they were not permitted to stray far from home nor be unsupervised by a parent for other than short periods of time. In summary, it appears that a "good" child learns the rules of appropriate behavior and then follows them.

Little in this regard is discussed in relation to Cubans, although Rogg (1974:73) does note that traditionally, middle and upper class

children were very "sheltered", however, this pattern is generally not possible in the United States.

Diaz-Royo's (1974:220) description of the Puerto Rican cultural concept of *capacidad* further highlights the importance of following norms:

Capacidad is the idea typification of an adult... To show *capacidad* is to live by the letter of the prescribed norms of the group, to be helpful, respectful of others, instrumental in bettering the lot of the group, and above all, sober and mature.

Capacidad is not determined by age as such, although children are born without it, but it is the developing evidence of responsibility and acquiescence to cultural norms, especially those relating to interpersonal transactions.

The person with *capacidad*, Diaz-Royo emphasizes (p. 172), "relies on the group norms always."

Diaz-Royo (1974:225-227) also discusses the concept of shame (*vergüenza*) and the shameless person (*sinvergüenza*) as these function to keep conduct consistent with group norms. A child, he states, is taught to feel shame whenever he steps outside the bounds of correct or appropriate behavior:

Vergüenza is a most important resource of adults in the enculturation of children. It fosters the emergence of feelings of guilt and shame whenever a violation of the norms of daily interaction occurs. Furthermore, it is not limited to children, for adults may also show and feel it.

A *sinvergüenza* (a person without shame), on the other hand, Diaz-Royo explains (p. 175), is one who neglects and ignores the norms of the group, in particular the norms regulating interpersonal relations. To be called or labelled as a *sinvergüenza* is one of the worst insults that can be made in Hispanic culture. Diaz-Royo states:

A *sinvergüenza* is one who does not rule his behavior by the rules of *respeto*, disregards deference, impinges upon other's *confianza* without mutual agreement, holds positively no *dignidad* and is not known as a person of *capacidad*. He is inappropriate, ineffective, disrespectful in human encounters; does not hold dear the cultural knowledge of the group by breaking its norms and acting out in unpredictable ways. Once labelled *sinvergüenza* a person has a bad reputation and is not to be trusted.

Although this description is for a Puerto Rican community, and a highly traditional one at that, the basic concepts seem applicable to Latin culture in general.

Another theme in the literature which appears to be related to uncertainty avoidance is that of avoiding confrontation and risk. Repeatedly in the literature it is stressed that Mexican Americans exhibit a tendency to avoid risky situations or situations of potential failure. Heller (1968:100), for example, states that when Mexican Americans encounter obstacles they tend to give up because they consider it better to not try than to try and fail. With regard to unpleasant situations or situations of potential conflict, again authors indicate that the Mexican American pattern is withdrawal and avoidance rather than confrontation. Burma (1970:21-23) claims that the Mexican Americans' sense of pride and dignity dictate that they will not push themselves in where they are not wanted; to the contrary, he notes a general desire to always appear at one's best. Madsen (1973:32) claims that the Mexican American reaction to real or imagined offenses against them in a job situation is to quickly leave and not come back.

Romano (1960), in his discussion of donship and masculinity in Mexican American culture, also argues that withdrawal is the preferred solution to situations of potential conflict or potential loss of prestige. He notes (p. 973) that if Mexican American workers feel cheated or deceived by their employers they respond by simply quitting. He argues that many other problems are dealt with in the same way, by avoidance and withdrawal. Another example provided is that men tend to avoid giving an opinion or taking a firm stand in a situation of conflict because to thus commit themselves is also to take the risk of being proven wrong. Saunders (1954:131) also described what he called an attitude of accepting rather than fighting in difficult situations.

The minimization of risk-taking is also discussed in the literature on Puerto Ricans. Mintz (1966:371) notes that an unwillingness to make difficult decisions and an unwillingness to handle problems by directly confronting them is a value statement which finds much support in the literature. Diaz-Royo (1974:172) describes one component of *capacidad* as not taking unnecessary risks. Nieves-Falcón (1972:18) observed in relation to a questionnaire which he administered: "In the lower strata of the population very often the subjects refused to answer some of the questions for fear of not giving the correct answer."

Final Summary

The aforementioned material, taken primarily from the literature on Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, only suggests but does not provide any conclusive evidence of a high level of uncertainty avoidance in Hispanic culture.

The sphere of life in which Hispanic norms seem to be clearer and more strongly enforced is in the area of interpersonal behavior. This is strongly emphasized by Diaz-Royo (1974). Other reports in the literature seem to be consistent with his analysis. The shaping and control of interpersonal conduct is a theme which is often discussed in the literature on Hispanic culture. While conformity to norms in all areas of life is not stressed, conformity to a certain standard of rules with regard to human interaction is fairly consistently emphasized in the literature. Despite changes in the North American context, many authors continue to remark on the importance of living up to the cultural expectations for proper behavior. We can only hypothesize that the distance between prescribed and enacted norms for interpersonal behavior is changing in the United States.

Further research, designed specifically to measure this complex value orientation, would be highly useful for assessing the level of uncertainty avoidance in Hispanic culture and evaluating the extent of change.

Masculinity - Femininity

Definition

This value orientation is based by Hofstede (1980:262-263) on what he calls the universal human tendency to dichotomize sex roles and the nearly universal association of assertiveness with males and nurturance with females. Primarily this value orientation refers to the conceptualizations and attitudes toward work in a given society. Such work values, according to Hofstede, vary along a continuum of masculinity to femininity.

Hofstede asserts (1980:288-289) that societies which scored high in masculinity tend to view work as a central value of life. The goals of work are generally viewed in terms of personal advancement and increased earnings. High masculinity societies tend to define achievement in terms of recognition and wealth rather than life style. Achievement motivation is high. With work as a central value, people generally like to work long hours and are attracted to larger organizations. Lastly, there are greater value differences between men and women in the same job and more sex role differentiation in general.

Societies which scored low in masculinity, according to Hofstede, do not view work as so central to their lives. Within the work context there is an emphasis on the rendering of services and on having a congenial physical and social environment. Achievement is defined more in terms of human contacts and life style; achievement motivation is lower. As work and achievement are somewhat devalued, people tend to identify less with their work and generally would prefer shorter working hours to more pay. There is a preference for smaller organizations where more rewarding human relationships can flourish. Lastly, there are smaller or no value differences between men and women in the same job and less sex role differentiation in general.

In Hofstede's study (1980:279) the highest masculinity scores were found in Japan, with Austria, Venezuela, Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain and Mexico also high. The lowest scores were found in the Scandanavian countries, Yugoslavia and the Netherlands.

Initial Summary

The literature generally does not pay a great deal of attention to Hispanic work values, particularly in terms of the categories set out in Hofstede's (1980) definition. The picture which is provided of Hispanic work values seems to encompass both masculine and feminine elements.

The often described Hispanic view that work is a means to an end rather than an end in itself implies that work is not viewed as a central value. Also frequently repeated is the Hispanic emphasis on the human environment and interpersonal relations. These types of characterizations seem suggestive of the feminine pole.

On the other hand, many authors emphasize that Hispanic culture highly values work, progress and advancement. This fits with the masculine pole. Also masculine is the high degree of sex role differentiation in Hispanic culture.

It appears to this author that Hispanic culture contains elements of both masculine and feminine orientations and hence, is probably at some middle range with regard to this value orientation.

Discussion of Hispanic Work Values

The literature suggests that work, while important, is not a central value in Mexican American culture. Work is often described as a necessity, as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. This topic has already been discussed in the section on being-versus-doing. This conception of work suggests a feminine orientation.

Generally the literature paints a portrait of Mexican Americans as

emphasizing the social environment of work, another aspect of the feminine orientation. Both Mead (1953:191) and Saunders (1954:132) assert that Mexican Americans respond to personal rather than impersonal incentives. Mead claims that Mexican Americans (in New Mexico) would prefer to work for or with people that they know rather than take jobs of higher status as defined by Anglo society. She also claims that the idea of higher pay was not of immediate interest, and that people seldom expressed a desire to make lots of money and get rich.

The question of Mexican American achievement motivation is more ambiguous and the evidence is conflicting. Gillin (1965:512-513) tells us that while the acceptance of social inequality is an integral component of the Latin world view, there is a concomitant belief that one could work one's way up in the social system through individual initiative and effort. Evidence on Mexican American achievement motivation is varied. Some authors, such as Madsen (1973), seem to suggest that Mexican Americans lack achievement motivation. Other authors, such as Ramirez (1976:197), stress that Mexican American achievement motivation must be measured in terms of group enhancement. Some authors, such as Grebler and his associates (1970:433-434), argue that the distribution of achievement motivation in the Mexican American population is very similar to the distribution in the rest of society. As such, it is really impossible to state whether or not Mexican Americans are characterized by high achievement motivation or not.

A few authors discuss Mexican American preferences for work contexts. Generally they emphasize that Mexican Americans generally prefer self-employment and individual autonomy rather than organizational structures large or small. Mead (1953:182), for example, notes that New Mexicans preferred to work for themselves so that they would be free to set the tempo of the work. Clark (1959:84) asserts that the majority of her informants

(in California) expressed the desire to be self-employed. Professional or white collar occupations were considered the most desirable but since these types of occupations were frequently out of the question because of educational requirements, many of Clark's informants focused their aspirations on trying to start a small business. Regardless of the work context, the literature also frequently makes note of the traditional Hispanic preference for "clean work" (non-manual) and the denigration of manual labor; this seems to be somewhat retained in the North American context.

There is also evidence for a masculine orientation in Mexican American culture. Grebler and his associates (1970:433-434) used a modified set of Lenski's questions on factors important to work; three questions related to Protestant Ethic values and four related to presumed Mexican American values such as an emphasis on job security, preference for free time, and feelings of belonging and acceptance. The study found that Mexican American responses were well within the "normal" Anglo American range as reported for a Detroit sample.

Lastly, it is fairly clear that there is a high degree of sex role differentiation in Mexican American culture. This topic will be explored more fully in the section of social differentiation by sex. In so far as sex role differentiation indicates a masculine orientation, Mexican American culture seems masculine in this regard.

The literature on Puerto Rican culture also presents data which shows both a masculine and a feminine orientation to work. On the one hand, there are descriptions of the high value accorded leisure and idleness and a general orientation toward work as a means to an end rather than an end in itself (Seda, 1973:36, Wolf, 1956:213). This suggests a feminine orientation. On the other hand, we have statements from Mintz (1966:369-370) and Padilla (1964/1958:57) which stress the importance and centrality of

the importance and centrality of work. Wolf (1956:213) asserts, for example, that "prestige goes to men and women who work hard." However, he also makes it clear that a total preoccupation with work is devalued as excessive. Padilla (1964/1958:57) observes that important Puerto Rican migrant goals included "working hard and being a 'good' worker." There is apparently an important work ethic in Puerto Rican culture; this suggests a masculine orientation.

On the feminine side, we have descriptions of the importance of environmental factors in the work situation. Padilla (1964/1958:257), for example, observes that Puerto Rican migrants to New York preferred jobs where the immediate supervisor spoke some Spanish and had a paternalistic relationship with the workers. She asserts that Puerto Rican workers generally do not trust "the company" which they assume is uninterested in worker welfare. She also claims that many Puerto Ricans saw labor unions as too big, too impersonal and as fundamentally uninterested in them.

Again, there is a high degree of sex role differentiation in Puerto Rican culture (Landy, 1958:236, Manners, 1956:147, Mintz, 1956:379, Padilla, 1956:293 and others). This suggests a masculine orientation toward work.

Some authors on Cubans, such as Alum (1977:12), emphasize that Cubans, too, see work primarily as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself. Although Alum claims that idleness is not valued, he asserts that the goal of work is to enjoy life. This suggests a feminine orientation.

Moreno (1971) discusses the retention by Cubans of the notion that manual labor is denigrating; this is a common Hispanic theme.

Gil's (1976:139-143; 183; 229) dissertation on Cubans in Los Angeles consistently emphasizes the centrality of work and the work ethic among Cubans. He states:

Aggressive in interpersonal relationships, the Cuban fits readily into the Western conception of competition. (p. 140)

Work is a means to self-reconstruction; a necessary expenditure of time and energy to rise above the ashes, and possibly, a means for increasing the pleasure of life in exile. There is virtue in work, regardless of whether work means non-manual labor or unpleasant conditions. (p. 142)

As a result, Cubans expect to work hard, and ultimately derives satisfaction from doing good work and progressing through the ranks. (p. 143)

Evidence from prior chapters also suggests that the vast majority of Cuban immigrants are strongly oriented toward the achievement of economic/material goals.

The centrality of work and the importance of the goal of progress and advancement seems suggestive of a masculine orientation. A high degree of sex role differentiation in Cuban culture also suggests a masculine orientation.

Szalay (1978:106-114), writing on Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area, also discusses both masculine and feminine orientations toward work. On the feminine side, he argues that the Hispanic view of work is one which sees it as a means to an end:

While the Hispanic Americans are particularly concerned with the formal arrangements of work, its availability, and its nature and consequences, compared to Anglos, the focus on work as a pleasurable activity is less emphatic. Rather, work is seen as a necessity, duty, or obligation. (p. 106)

For the Hispanic Americans, work or employment appears to be more an existential issue, a matter of meeting fundamental needs such as housing, food, and security. (p. 114)

On the masculine side, Szalay (1978:106) asserts that both Hispanics and Anglo Americans were equally concerned with the money and paychecks from jobs. However, he also asserts that Anglos seem to value work for its own sake more than Hispanic Americans.

Cohen's (1979) research on Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area also suggests both masculine and feminine orientations to work. She emphasizes

the crucial importance to Hispanics of good interpersonal relations on the job:

The most important aspect of working conditions for the immigrants was their relations with supervisory personnel and/or colleagues, in terms of *buen trato* (proper and good treatment) or *mal trato* (ill treatment, or lack of consideration). (p. 122)

The importance assigned to the social environment of work suggests a feminine orientation.

However, Cohen (1979:101) also strongly emphasizes that work and improvement of their condition by means of work, was a central value for the Hispanic immigrants: "Inasmuch as improved status was a central force motivating the move to the United States, work was a major concern of the immigrants." This statement suggests a more masculine orientation toward work.

Final Summary

The literature on Hispanics seems to provide evidence of both masculine and feminine orientations to work. The view of work as a means to an end rather than an end in itself, and the stress on the social environment of work are suggestive of what has been defined as a feminine orientation. The valuation of work and the often mentioned desire for progress and advancement seems more appropriate to a masculine orientation. The high degree of sex role differentiation also seems indicative of a masculine orientation. We conclude, tentatively, that Hispanic culture is probably at some midpoint between the two extremes of masculinity and femininity with regard to work values.

Self Concept

Introduction and Initial Summary

It is somewhat problematic to draw conclusions regarding the self concepts of Hispanic Americans. Evidence on this topic is varied. The majority of authors do not deal directly with the notion of self concept. An attempt was made to order the findings of the literature by examining the position of Hispanics on the dimensions of the Semantic Differential (Evaluation, Potency and Activity), but this proved too difficult because research findings are rarely presented in terms of these categories.

Two basic themes regarding self concept seem to run through the literature. The more frequently discussed theme is the positive evaluation of self which is linked to the Hispanic concept of individuality; this notion emphasizes the essential dignity and worth of each person. The second theme, appearing mostly with regard to Puerto Ricans but also to a lesser extent for Mexican Americans, is the negative effects of the identity crisis of those who are caught between two cultures. We can categorize other negative effects of acculturation and/or assimilation under this rubric.

The cultural assumption which posits that each individual has an inner worth and dignity is abundantly discussed in the literature (Burma, 1970:23, Gillin, 1965:507, Madsen, 1973:20-21, Mintz, 1966:371, Pitt-Rivers, 1966:23, Wells, 1969:24). Important to this notion of individuality are the related concepts of respect, dignity, honor and pride. An important aspect of this valuation of the individual is that it is, to a large extent, disconnected from material considerations or worldly accomplishments. Wagenheim (1972: 211-212) emphasizes the point that *any* Puerto Rican is worthy of respect. Any Hispanic who operates according to group norms for proper behavior (Diaz-Royo, 1974) is entitled to dignity and self-respect. A janitor, if he conducts his life in accordance with certain principles, has just as much right to assert his worth as a human being as does a bank president.

There is also an element of social embeddedness in the affirmation of self of Hispanics. As Pitt-Rivers (1966:23) makes clear, there is an essential process of reciprocity involved in that an individual must recognize and acknowledge others' claims to respect and dignity; the others must in turn affirm the person's worth in order to validate it. While each Hispanic individual has the right to be considered a worthy person, the process of social interaction is really what affirms and validates individual worth. Therefore, it is clear that the cultural ideals require an appropriate social context in order to be actualized.

The theme of socio-cultural marginalization emerges from literature which focuses on the problems inherent in the erosion of cultural ideals and the breakdown of the social context for reaffirming those ideals. The extreme case would be the "marginal man" (Stonequist, 1937) who participates in two cultures but belongs fully to neither. Under this topic we can categorize together authors who discuss issues such as identity crisis, anomie, alienation and so forth. We assume that the self concept is negatively effected in such situations. If a person realizes himself in part by subscribing to and acting out group norms, then it can only be expected that he will have difficulties when cultural norms are challenged and the social context is characterized by a high degree of change and instability.

A third theme or aspect of self concept which appears in the literature relates to the relatively high degree of sex role differentiation in Hispanic culture. Fulfilling the appropriate standards of behavior according to one's sex seems to be integrally bound up with self concept. Manliness (*machismo*), for example, appears to be an important element in the Hispanic male's self concept. Since this topic will be treated at length in the section on social differentiation by sex, we will not do more than mention it at this point.

Discussion of the Self Concepts of Hispanics

Mexican Americans' self concepts have been explored in various ways by a number of researchers. Maldonado and Cross (1979:142-143) applied the Tennessee Self-Concept Test to a group of New Mexican Hispanic teenagers. They found that the Mexican American adolescents evaluated their self-concepts no lower than did a control group, and they concluded that despite a situation of socio-economic inferiority, the Mexican Americans did not show a sense of inferiority and worthlessness.

Gecas (1976:14-151) also explored the self-concepts of Mexican American children. He compared a group of U.S. raised Mexican Americans with a group of fairly recent arrivals from Mexico. For both groups he found that family identification, especially for females, was an important aspect of the self-concept, and he identifies the most salient bond as that of the parent-and-child. The major difference between the two groups was that for the U.S. raised children gender seemed to be a very important component of their self-concepts, whereas for recently arrived children religion, family, and name were most important. These findings do not appear surprising considering the importance of the family in Mexican American life. Ramirez (1976:201) also concludes that Mexican American children are socialized to identify self with family. Sex role differentiation is also a known important aspect of Hispanic culture. Gecas further notes, interestingly, that ethnic identification played a rather insignificant role in the children's self-concepts.

The work of Dworkin (1971:76) took another approach in which he elicited a list of self-images or self-stereotypes from Mexican Americans and then asked them to rank them as to degree of appropriateness. He used two groups of subjects, Mexican Americans born and raised in the United States, and Mexican Americans born in Mexico who had recently arrived in the United

States. In general, Dworkin found that the self-images of the recent arrivals were much more positive than were the self-images of the long-term residents. He suggests that this phenomenon is probably a result of the frame of reference being applied. He thinks that the new arrivals were comparing themselves to the situation in Mexico whereas the long-term residents were comparing themselves to the dominant North American society. New arrivals feel more positive about themselves because they feel that they have improved themselves; long-term residents perceive more sharply the discrepancies between their own group and Anglo society. Although not focused on self-concept, research carried out by Portes (1980) on Cuban and other Hispanic immigrants, also found that immigrants were most positive of their assessments of U.S. society and their potential role in it upon arrival and that over time they became more skeptical of North American society and its opportunities.

In Dworkin's research, the Mexican born group saw themselves (in order of subjects' rankings) as: proud; religious; gregarious; friendly; happy; field workers; racially tolerant; short, fat and dark; practical and well-adjusted. In contrast, the U.S. born Mexican Americans saw themselves as: emotional; unscientific; authoritarian; materialistic; old-fashioned; poor and of low social class; uneducated or poorly educated; short, fat and dark; having little care for education; mistrusted; proud; lazy, indifferent and unambitious. In contrast with the Maldonado and Cross study (1979), Dworkin's material suggests that the situation in the United States (low socio-economic status, residential segregation, discrimination, etc.) has contributed to an injured or lowered self-concept among Mexican Americans. The self-images of Dworkin's U.S. born group seem to be overwhelmingly negative.

A somewhat different perspective of Mexican Americans' self-concepts is provided by the Grebler (1970:387-388) study. They describe a self vision

of Mexican Americans as often tinged with wry self-depreciatory humor along the lines of anti-semitic jokes told by Jews. Presenting materials on how Mexican Americans view themselves, the study found the most agreement on the following four traits: (1) very emotional, (2) strong family ties, (3) low on materialism, and (4) hard workers. Clearly these aspects of the self image are cast in terms of an implied comparison with Anglo society. The self assessment appears to be relatively positive, although the traits perhaps refer more to the group as a whole rather than to individual self-concepts.

Lastly, an aspect of self-concept which receives some attention in the literature on Mexican Americans is the relative importance of ethnicity for identity. Peñalosa (1970:4) analyzes the relevance of ethnicity in terms of a continuum. At one extreme he places people who acknowledge ethnicity but to whom it is basically unimportant. In the middle are Mexican Americans who are conscious of their ethnicity but for whom it may have either a positive or negative meaning. At the other extreme are Chicanos for whom ethnicity is very important and positively valued. Achor (1978) presents a similar scheme with four categories. She labels as "insulationists" those to whom the ethnic group remains the primary focus and source of identification. "Accommodationists", Achor explains, are basically oriented toward Anglo ways. "Mobilizationists" are those who try for a strategy of biculturalism. The "alienated", Achor sees as having damaged self-concepts and as participants in the culture of poverty. The marginalized, who can not fully participate in either system nor both, are viewed by Achor as having identity problems.

A number of writers on Puerto Rican culture emphasize the positive self-concepts of Puerto Ricans. Rogler's (1972:203-204) data seems illustrative. He observed that while 74% of his sample would be classified sociologically as in the bottom class, 46% of the people classified themselves as "middle-class", only 20% assigned themselves to the bottom class, and

the rest labelled themselves as working class, non-professionals or high class. While Puerto Ricans tended to place Puerto Ricans as a group quite low with regard to social class, they clearly tended to rate themselves higher, and in many cases higher than they actually were. This suggests a rather positive self-image.

Rogler links this tendency toward positive self-concepts to the cultural values of self-worth, dignity and pride which are independent of rank in the usual objective criteria of social stratification. Rogler also points out that the concept of the self as worthy converged with the belief that in migrating to the mainland the migrants have made upward strides; he further notes that the Puerto Ricans were coming to accept the American democratic creed's proposition about the equality of all men.

Tumin's (1971:165-181) study, carried out in Puerto Rico, also found the values of dignity, pride and self-worth embedded in Puerto Rican culture. Tumin states:

Puerto Ricans perceive the existing marked inequalities. Yet they do not feel particularly depreciated by them, and certainly not overwhelmed by them... (p.165)

...it is also proper to indicate that over half of the lowest class feel they are as important or more important than the majority. In short, nothing even faintly resembles the self-denigration which could accompany the inequalities in circumstances. (p. 173)

Tumin's (1971) observations seem highly consistent with what Gillin (1965) analyzed as components of the Latin world view, that is, an acceptance of social inequality with a concomitant belief in the unique worthiness of each individual unconnected to his or her socio-economic position, and a basic optimism about the possibility of upward mobility. Self worth, at least as it was measured in Tumin's study, does not appear to depend on material well-being or even relate to relative deprivation.

Rodriguez's (1970) article also seems to support the notion of a strong self-concept among Puerto Ricans. In his study he asked Puerto Rican and

North American subjects to describe themselves the way they were (real self) and then describe themselves the way that they would like to be (ideal self). Rodriguez found that for North American subjects there was a much larger discrepancy between the real and ideal self; the Puerto Ricans' real and ideal selves were closer together. This seems to imply a certain degree of satisfaction with self that suggests a strong and positive self-concept.

It also appears logical that ethnic/national identity and family identification would play an important role in individuals' self-concepts. Padilla (1964/1958:34-35) notes, for example, that in New York there were three aspects of identity which needed to be revealed in order to successfully relate to others. These were: (1) identifying oneself as a Puerto Rican, (2) demonstrating a certain familiarity with and knowledge of the island, and (3) establishing which particular family one belonged to.

Other authors, such as Fitzpatrick (1971), Nieves-Falcón (1980), and Seda (1973), stress problems of identity, cultural erosion and marginalization of Puerto Ricans in terms of their contact with North American society. Fitzpatrick (1971:3, 51) states, for example, that the focus of his book on Puerto Rican Americans is the quest of Puerto Ricans for identity. He claims that a secure sense of identity is not only being threatened in New York but was already in the process of being lost on the island, before migration.

Seda's (1973:10,44) assessment of the effects of Americanization on Puerto Rican self-concepts is even more pessimistic than Fitzpatrick's. He states, in reference to an island community:

...prolonged situations of cultural erosion, anomie, or transculturation under an alien power structure which superimposes alien norms on a given culture, tend to confuse the process of interpersonal prediction and to undermine the security of self-image and identity...

The erosion of elements of identity and orientation had produced a constant deterioration of interpersonal relations in the community...Cultural erosion creates uncertainty in defining one's own identity and confusion in finding the proper norms of conduct.

Nieves-Falcón (1980:359) also discusses the loss of identity through cultural erosion and he quotes an informant, born and raised in New York who stated: "I am not an American, that I know. I am a Puerto Rican but I do not know why."

The material by Nieves-Falcón (1980) and Seda (1973) suggests that the process of cultural loss, or deculturation, has a negative effect on the self-image and self-concept of Puerto Ricans caught up in this process. What is not clear from these descriptive accounts is the extent of this phenomenon.

Szalay's (1978:41;152) materials on Hispanic Americans in the Washington D.C. area again emphasizes the interaction between the Hispanic self-concept and social embeddedness. He states:

"Me" is a dominant notion for the Anglo American, and the emphasis is very strongly on the self in relationship to others...but the data show that the Hispanic American is not very concerned with the notion of "self" as an object of analysis. (p. 41)

In general, for the Hispanic American, conscience and self-esteem are perceived as having a locus external to the self - they are viewed in relationship to others, and not in a relationship which one has with oneself. (p. 152)

These statements seem consistent with Pitt-Rivers' (1946) analysis of the fundamental process of reciprocity in the affirmation of self in Latin social relations. The worth of an individual must constantly be affirmed by in the process of social interactions. This topic will be further discussed in the section on power distance.

Final Summary

The material reviewed suggests two basic conclusions about the self-concepts of Hispanic Americans. Some authors attribute a strong and positive self-concept to Hispanics because of the Hispanic value on individuality. A number of research projects focused on self-concept or self-esteem f

that Hispanics generally assess themselves relatively positively. Some research seems to suggest that residence in the United States has a negative effect on Hispanic self-concepts. Some authors discuss a process of deculturation in which individuals can not successfully relate to either their culture of origin or North American society; marginalization is assumed to have destructive effects on the self-concept and self-esteem.

Identification With - Group Identification
and Definitions of the In-Group

Introduction

How Hispanic Americans see themselves, what criteria are used to identify and define the group, and how the in-group is determined, is a complex topic which will be dealt with in a rather summary fashion in this report. For heuristic purposes we will try to separate, analytically, components of (1) group identification, (2) definitions of the in-group, and (3) aspects of the relationship of Hispanic Americans to the larger society. Clearly, the three topics are highly inter-related. It should also be kept in mind that we proceed at a rather high level of generalization since, after all, we are referring to some 14 million people who obviously do not all share the same conceptions of the group, the same definitions of the in-group, or the same perceptions of the wider society. It should also be kept in mind that for each generalization ventured here, there exists much internal variation within the group, by social class, level of acculturation/assimilation and other factors.

The themes selected for examination here are hopefully some of the more important ones. Topics brought up here are those which were found to be stressed repeatedly in the literature, often by researchers carrying out work at different times and places. However, an additional word of caution needs to be inserted regarding the material about to be reviewed. It is fairly clear that many researchers tend to focus on a selected segment of the Hispanic American population. That is, traditional rural communities and urban ethnic enclaves are over-represented. Lower-class poor people have generally received more social science attention than those who are better-off. Many researchers, particularly the early ones, tended to be more interested in what made Hispanic American culture different from Anglo culture; the areas of similarity do not receive the same amount of

attention. Hence, the reader should keep in mind that generalizations based on the literature can not be expected to apply with equal validity to the wide spectrum of persons of Hispanic origin in the United States today.

The plan of presentation is as follows. The exposition will be divided into three sections: (1) group identification, (2) definitions of the in-group, and (3) aspects of the relationship of Hispanic Americans to the wider society. Within each section there will be five parts or subdivisions, a brief summary statement, and then sections on Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Hispanics. Where possible, we will try to briefly incorporate comments on internal variation within the population and aspects of change which is occurring.

Group Identification

(1) Summary

Some of the components of Hispanic group identification which will be reviewed include the concept of *la raza*, the national or ethnic cultural heritage, the Spanish language, names used to refer to the group, the *barrio* and the ethnic community, Catholicism, and *Indigenismo*. Spanish-speakers in the United States do not share equally in all these aspects of group identification, and even those which appear repeatedly for all the Hispanic groups - cultural heritage, Spanish and Catholicism - are varied in terms of content and meaning for each of the various Hispanic groups and probably are also varied by sub-groups within the major groups.

For example, the cultural heritage is something which numerous authors point to as an important aspect of group identification. However, even though the various Hispanic groups do share a certain basic core of features derived from the colonial period, a great deal of what constitutes the cultural heritage of the Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Hispanic groups differs in content and meaning from group to group.

Mexican American folk songs, dances, holidays, crafts and food will not be the same as those of Puerto Ricans, nor will those of the Puerto Ricans be the same as those of the Cubans and so forth. So even though one may generalize and say that the cultural heritage is an important aspect of group identification for all Hispanics, one must remember that the content of this heritage is different depending on which Hispanic group is being discussed. That is one reason why, in this section, the discussions of the literature are separated into different sections for each Hispanic group rather than presented together.

Summarizing the section on group identification, it appears that Mexican American culture is perhaps the most syncretized probably because Mexican Americans have the longest history in the United States. The Mexican American sub-culture is a product of life in the *barrios* in the United States over hundreds of years. The term *barrio*, which signifies the ethnic community, is one which is used in the literature on Mexican Americans and only rarely in reference to other Hispanic groups. Also the term *la raza*, signifying peoplehood, is one which is generally used primarily in reference to Mexican Americans rather than other Hispanics. Interestingly, the term *la raza* is a term which can be easily expanded to encompass all Hispanics; the terms used by the other Hispanic groups generally refer specifically to country of origin and do not have the same pan-Hispanic implications.

Group identification for Puerto Ricans and Cubans are apparently much more highly focused on the specific countries of Puerto Rico and Cuba. Although there is probably a great deal of variability, it seems as if the Puerto Rican and the Cuban are more firmly rooted in their homeland and its traditions than the Mexican Americans whose cultural traditions are already an amalgam of Mexican and North American elements.

Spanish is another element common to the group identifications of the various Hispanic groups and language maintenance has been high. The Spanish

spoken by the various groups, of course, differs depending on country of origin, number of generations in the United States, regional considerations and other factors. It also seems accurate to venture the generalization that the majority of Hispanics are Catholics with a Latin American Catholic tradition. Protestantism for all groups, spiritualism for Puerto Ricans and *santaría* for Cubans are characteristic of smaller numbers of Hispanics.

While Mexican American group identification is very frequently discussed in terms of the *barrio*, the Cubans are frequently discussed in terms of their strong ethnic communities. Puerto Ricans on the mainland are infrequently discussed in terms of identification with strong ethnic communities.

The Indian heritage (*Indigenismo*) as an aspect of group identification is discussed most for Mexican Americans, discussed very little for Cubans, and not discussed at all for Puerto Ricans. This correlates with the size of the Indian populations in the respective countries: Indians on the Caribbean islands were exterminated shortly after colonization began, the Cuban groups surviving somewhat longer than did the natives of Puerto Rico. Clearly, the Indian presence and influence is greatest in Mexico.

Lastly, the literature discusses aspects of identity and identity problems resulting from culture contact, or as some authors say, cultural imperialism or deculturation. These issues are discussed most in the literature on Puerto Rico, to a lesser extent by the writers on Mexican Americans, and very little by those writing on Cubans.

(2) Mexican Americans

Identification of the group in terms of the concept of *la raza* is discussed by Burma (1970), Gonzalez (1967), Grebler et al. (1970), Heller (1968), Henderson (1979), Madsen (1973), Tuck (1974/1946) and others. The term *la raza* derives from the writings of José Vasconcelo in which he put forth the philosophical position that the *mestizo* (mixed) people of Latin America

were the "cosmic race" with a special destiny in contrast to the more barbaric Anglos. The Grebler volume (1970:379) argues that this philosophical position can be viewed as a defensive ethos, or reaction, in the face of Anglo racism. The historical emphasis on racial superiority has diminished considerably over time and the term *la raza* today can be translated most accurately as "all Latins" (especially Mexicans), or "people" or "our people" (Grebler et al., 1970:380 Gonzalez, 1967:72). The term implies both spiritual and cultural bonds among the Spanish-speaking people, an acknowledgement of a special and unifying sense of brotherhood or peoplehood. This sense of peoplehood is generally seen as divinely sanctioned. Henderson (1979:111) notes that Mexican Americans are united by identification with *la raza* which means that all Latins are united by cultural and spiritual ties emanating from God. Madsen (1973:17) defines *la raza* as the spirit of the Spanish-speaking people, a spirit which is both divine and infinite.

Identification as a member of and loyalty and devotion to *la raza* appears repeatedly in the literature as a central focus of group identification. The term *la raza* embodies an almost mystical sense of peoplehood and functions as a meaningful symbolic representation of the group. As a concept it overrides regional, state and even national borders and, although in the United States it is a term used most by Mexican Americans, it is easily expanded to encompass a more unifying notion of *all* Hispanics. The term *la raza* defines the broadest possible category of in-group for Mexican Americans.

Most Mexican Americans do not view membership in *la raza* as mutually exclusive with other types of identifications. Madsen (1973:17) asserts that Mexican Americans see themselves both as citizens of the United States and as members of *la raza*.

The literature also describes some negative connotations associated with *la raza*. Authors note that members of *la raza* sometimes credit themselves as prone to divisiveness, mutual jealousies and antagonisms, envy, and as lacking in the ability to unite and cooperate. Madsen (1973:25) claims that while Mexican Americans tend to be relatively suspicious of all non-kin, they are especially suspicious and skeptical of other members of *la raza* who are viewed as more likely (than outsiders) to try and do each other in. Certain types of harm that people can do against each other, such as the evil eye, are assumed to be primarily attributable to members of *la raza*, i.e. members of the in-group.

Lastly, the notion of *la raza* can be viewed as a definition of the group which is activated primarily in relationship to the Anglo world. Madsen (1973:33), in a discussion of lower-class Mexican Americans, says that a man realizes that affiliation with *la raza* "...sets him apart from the dominant Anglo population." Gonzalez (1967:72) comments that the concept of *la raza* as peoplehood only becomes activated vis-a-vis the Anglo world. As such, *la raza* becomes a rallying cry and a bid for ethnic unity and solidarity.

Ethnic/cultural heritage is another important component of Mexican American group identity in the United States. This "culture" or heritage is difficult to define precisely, as Peñalosa (1970:7-8) has noted. The ethnic heritage of Mexican Americans, according to Peñalosa, is a product of multiple origins including (1) traditional Mexican culture, (2) dominant American culture, (3) class, and (4) minority status.

Meier and Rivera (1972:xvii), in the introduction to their history of Mexican Americans, assert that despite diversities, Mexican Americans have a basic cultural unity with a considerable retention of ethnic traits and customs, some of which are of Spanish origin. In particular they point to pride in the cultural and historical heritage and retention and preference for native arts, crafts and foods. Forbes (1970:16) attempted to define

the ethnic heritage broadly as: the use of Spanish, a tendency toward mutual aid, artistic and musical traditions, folk dances, certain styles of cooking, a warm style of interpersonal relations, and a de-emphasis on the acquisition of wealth.

Casavantes (1971:49), also trying to define Mexican Americans, claims that they share a certain heritage which includes aspects such as Mexican food and music. Achor (1978:118) observed that the more tradition oriented Mexican Americans in Dallas emphasized ethnicity, and she points to aspects such as music, food, types of entertainment and holidays.

We will not try to pin down or describe more fully the content and variations of this ethnic heritage; this is something that would require a major study in and of itself. Suffice it to say that this cultural heritage continues to be a real and vibrant force and constitutes an important aspect of group identification.

The Spanish language is also a critical aspect of the group identification of Mexican Americans. The importance of the mother tongue, according to the literature, can not be overestimated. Achor (1978:118), Berk-Seligson (1980:78-83), Casavantes (1971:49), and Heller (1968:31) all stress the important role of the Spanish language in terms of the preservation of the ethnic group and the ethnic heritage.

The continued use of and strong preference for Spanish by Mexican Americans is often examined by social scientists who try to understand why Mexican American language maintenance has been so strong when so many other immigrant groups to the United States shed their languages of origin with rather remarkable speed. Some of the explanations for the preservation of Spanish include pointing to factors such as the almost 400 year history of Mexican Americans in the United States, the proximity of the Mexican border, the continued influx of immigrants from Mexico, and the longstanding social isolation of Mexican Americans in this country, both as agricultural migrant

workers or as residents in separate districts of towns and cities. Whatever the reasons are, it is abundantly clear that Spanish continues to be a primary aspect of Mexican American group identification.

Another aspect of group identification are the various positive names which the group uses to refer to itself. Terms such as Spanish American, Mexican American, Hispano, Chicano and others carry connotations of a positive sense of group identification; they also imply a conception of the ethnic group as an in-group counterposed to the out-group of the larger society. Each term used carries its own history and its own subtle meanings and implications. Montenegro's (1976:42-44) research, for example, explored differences between high school students who labelled themselves as Chicanos and those who called themselves Mexican Americans. Summarizing her results, the Chicanos were more conscious of ethnicity, were more anti-Anglo and were more conscious of discrimination, whereas the students who called themselves Mexican Americans saw themselves first as individuals, wanted to be "good Americans" and perceived less discrimination. A discussion of the regional, class, political and other implications of various terms would be fascinating, but space does not permit it here. In general, we conclude, the positive terms used by the group to refer to itself contribute to a sense of group identification, "we" as opposed to "them", and function to help demarcate the in-group.

Although it is clear that not all Mexican Americans live in ethnic communities, the ethnic district or *barrio* continues to be an important aspect of Mexican American group identification. Peñalosa (1970:7-8) claims that the focus of the synthesis and emergence of Mexican American culture in the United States was the *barrio* and not Mexico.

The historical experience of Mexican Americans shows a pattern of the social isolation of Mexican Americans from the rest of the society. Berk-Seligson (1980:70), in a summary of historical patterns, notes that Mexican

Americans tended to settle in remote rural places (like the New Mexican villages) or to engage in agricultural work which involved a migratory movement usually carried out in homogeneous groups. These early experiences, she observes, differ very much from the experiences of other, primarily European immigrants who went directly into urban areas.

The residential segregation of the Mexican American community within the towns and cities of the Southwest is extremely well-documented. Grebler and his associates (1970:323), for example, note that in many places, such as Corpus Christie (Texas), Mexican Americans were treated fundamentally as a separate caste and were separated off from the rest of the population. Clark (1959:24-31) describes the Mexican American colony of San José (California) as physically concentrated and insulated; she claims that the entire colony felt an internal kinship and separation from the English-speaking world. Rubel's (1966) and Simmons' (1971) work also document the residential and social segregation of Mexican Americans in Texas. More recently, Achor (1978:50-62) describes the high degree of residential segregation of Mexican Americans in Dallas. The Grebler study (1970:335) observes the concentration of Mexican Americans in their own neighborhoods in Los Angeles and San Antonio and remarks on how, for both cities, the smaller the percentage of Mexican Americans the better the reputation of the neighborhood.

The *barrio* then, has served and continues to serve as a focus of ethnic and community identification. It is generally described in the literature in terms of *gemeinschaft*, as a warm and relatively intimate environment where most people know each other and where people are connected through ties of kinship and friendship. Authors frequently remark on how most intimate contacts and almost all socializing are done within the context of the *barrio* (Achor, 1978:41-42, Clark, 1959:31). Achor (1978:118) notes how in the Dallas *barrio* which she studied, group identity was strengthened by the

use of Spanish and reaffirmed by the celebration of Mexican patriotic and religious holidays, by preferences for ethnic foods, music and esthetic styles. For many Mexican Americans living within the *barrio* there are few points of contact with Anglos (Ulibarri, 1970:36), and many are rather fearful, according to Clark (1959:31), about the outside world which they perceive as hostile and different.

The preference for living within the *barrio* is demonstrated by researchers whose data indicated that quite a number of Mexican Americans who had the financial resources to move out of the *barrio* preferred to remain there despite some disadvantages. Achor (1978:46) asserts that despite inferior housing and urban services, most *barrio* inhabitants expressed positive sentiments about it. She also states (p. 33) that not all those who lived there did so because of economic necessity. Grebler and his associates (1970:336) found that Mexican Americans in Los Angeles and San Antonio were sometimes willing to sacrifice quality of living conditions in order to remain in the *barrio* even when they had the resources to move to higher quality housing in more mixed neighborhoods.

Part of the reason for preferring the *barrio* may be related to differences between the cultural patterns and norms of the *barrio* versus those of the wider society. Mead (1953:189), in reference to New Mexican villages, observed that the village rules for appropriate behavior - such as norms for cooperation, competition and social sanctions - were not the same as those of the Anglo world. Grebler and his associates (1970:320-329) state that what gives status and prestige within the *barrio* is different from what determines status and prestige in the larger society. They note that while in the Anglo world status is primarily determined by occupation and income, in the *barrio* there are ways of obtaining status other than occupation. Another discrepancy which they point out is that what may be considered upper-class within the ethnic group may not be so considered in the outside world.

Achor (1978:116-117) also makes the point that merit is measured differently in the *barrio*. She asserts that respect and worthiness in the *barrio* were not measured by wealth, education or occupational success but rather in terms of socially acceptable conduct.

Barrio residence and membership, then, seem to contribute to a more cohesive and vital ethnic identification. The Grebler study (1970:394) notes that ethnic cohesiveness and exclusiveness were most true for *barrio* residents in contrast to Mexican Americans who lived in mixed or predominantly Anglo neighborhoods. Achor (1978:116-118) provides a similar picture for Dallas. In summary then, the *barrio*, as a community and as a symbol of the group, is a strong component of Mexican American group identification in the United States. This probably continues to be true even though an increasingly large number of Mexican Americans today live outside the *barrios* while the ethnic cohesiveness and exclusiveness of the *barrios* appears to be declining (Grebler et al., 1970:394).

Another important aspect of group identification is Catholicism of the Latin American variety. A number of authors point to Catholicism as a distinguishing feature of the Mexican American population. Casavari (1971:49) lists "most are Catholic" as part of his definition of the group. Heller (1968:18) also argues for the importance of Latin Catholicism for Mexican Americans and observes that most attended predominantly Mexican American churches. Bacalski-Martinez (1979:19), in a recent article, argues that the Roman Catholic Church has always provided a very real cultural unity for Mexican Americans. He discusses the links between religion and Mexican American arts, crafts, music, and traditional mutual aid societies. Ethnographic reports make it clear that Catholicism, if often of a folk variety, is an integral part of the Mexican American way of life. Many "typical" features of Mexican American life, such as saint celebrations and the institution of co-parenthood, are fundamentally linked to Catholicism.

A number of authors discuss the increasing number of Mexican American conversions to Protestantism (Gonzalez, 1967:77, Madsen, 1973:67, Sumner, 1970:226). On the whole, authors agree, this process of conversion seems to reflect a tentative identification with American Protestant culture and its values and a partial rejection of the Mexican past (Sumner, 1970:226). The suggested relationship of Protestantism with assimilation only underscores the importance of the link between Catholicism and Mexican American culture.

Another element in group identification is *Indigenismo* or consciousness of Indian origins and cultural roots. The general movement of *Indigenismo* has been very strong in Mexico, especially since the Revolution of 1910, and it appears to be in a process of becoming popular among people of Mexican origin in the United States. Part of this process of consciousness raising, according to Lux and Vigil (1979:1), is a revitalization of Mexican cultural origins of *la raza* and a regeneration of interest in the Indian origins and influences in particular. Their article (1979:8-9) explores Indian symbols, place names, vocabulary, food influences, legends and norms in an effort to re-emphasize and demonstrate the importance of the Indian cultural roots of Mexican American culture. This emphasis on *Indigenismo* as an important part of group identity (as opposed to the Spanish colonial heritage) is an important theme in the Chicano Movement. The name of a leading Chicano journal, *Aztlan*, for example, is the Aztec name of a mystical homeland and a symbol of the peoplehood of *la raza*. It is not clear exactly how widespread the interest in Indian roots is among the Mexican American population. Lux and Vigil (1979) claim that this aspect of identity became submerged because of the racist climate of American society which favored a fostering of an image of Spanish conquistador roots (see also the history of McWilliams, 1968/1949). Be that as it may, at least for a smaller and more active minority, *Indigenismo* appears to be an increasingly important aspect of group identification.

Lastly, a number of authors identify what may be called "group descriptors", that is characteristics of the group which the group views as distinguishing them from the larger society. Grebler and his associates (1970:388) elicited the following positive group descriptors: very emotional, having stronger family ties, less materialistic and hard workers. On the negative side (p. 399), Mexican Americans evaluated themselves as less progressive, more prone to blame others for their problems and as suffering from discrimination. Rivera (1970:38) argues that two basic norms distinguish Mexican Americans from Anglos. These are the norm of non-materialistic achievement, and the norm of cooperation and sharing. Hence, it appears that Mexican Americans attribute to themselves certain group characteristics which differ from those thought to be characteristic of Anglo society.

(3) *Puerto Ricans*

In contrast to the more encompassing and fluid notion of *la raza*, Puerto Ricans are generally described as strongly identified with the island of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican cultural heritage. In part, this situation relates to the fact that while Puerto Rico is a Commonwealth within the United States, the island continues to have a certain amount of sovereignty and identification as a separate country. While Mexican Americans have an almost 400 year history in the United States, and Cuban Americans tend to see themselves as cut off from their country of origin forever, the Puerto Rican migration to the mainland is a relatively recent phenomenon and return migration is common. Puerto Ricans, unlike most other Hispanics, have what amounts to dual citizenship. The special (many say colonial) relationship of Puerto Rico with the United States can be expected to color political, economic, social and psychological relationships.

The identification with the island and the Puerto Rican cultural heritage is mentioned by numerous authors. Rogler (1972:208), in a study of a Puerto

Rican community on the mainland, asserts that the distinctiveness of the group seemed to rest on the perceived common origin, culture and language of Puerto Ricans.

G. Lewis (1963:252) claims: "There is, again, a powerful sense of *puertorriqueñidad* [Puerto Rican identity] that affects all classes."

Although he goes on to claim that this feeling of identity has little power to shape actual behavior. Nieves-Falcón (1980:358) states:

The displacement of Puerto Ricans to the United States has had a diverse impact. On the matter of national identification Puerto Ricans seem not only to perceive cultural differences between North Americans and themselves, but overwhelmingly identify as Puerto Ricans rather than Americans. They keep track of goings on in Puerto Rico, prefer to speak Spanish rather than English, choose Puerto Rican neighborhoods above others and, more often than not, plan to go back to the island...The picture which emerges of the migrant is one of a person closely identified with the land, both in national and cultural terms.

Franklin (1981:11) also makes the point that in matters of identification, Puerto Ricans differ from Mexican Americans:

Another difference is that Puerto Ricans on the mainland have a homeland to which they are deeply and permanently attached. Frequent visits, where possible, reinforce the attachment and cause many to regard themselves as Puerto Ricans first and Americans second. Mexican Americans do not seem to be nearly as deeply attached to Mexico. Many of them are not immigrants but have always lived on the lands ceded by Mexico to the United States. Others were recruited from Mexico as laborers, and under the circumstances, would just as soon forget the wretched conditions from which they came. Still others came without permission and return the same way if and when they care to.

Defining the Puerto Rican cultural heritage, like the Mexican American heritage, is problematic for authors who frequently point out the sub-cultural diversity in Puerto Rico. Steward (1956:11; 486), whose emphasis was on sub-cultural diversity, asserts that the island shares in a larger Hispanic heritage derived from a widespread Mediterranean culture. He lists the following features as part of this Hispanic heritage while noting

that (1) they are shared substantially with all other Latin nations, and (2) the traits are not evenly shared by all Puerto Rican sub-cultures and/or social classes:

...Spanish, the double standard and male dominance in the family, ritual kinship, the *paseo*, the town plaza, Catholicism, the lottery, cockfighting, Spanish styles in music, literature, art and architecture, emphasis upon the spiritual and the human rather than commercial values, interest in poetry, literature and philosophy rather than science and industry, and emphasis upon hospitality and interpersonal relations rather than upon competitive individualism.

Mintz (1966:359), in his essay on Puerto Rican national culture, also tried to elucidate what separates Puerto Rican identity and culture from the larger patterns of the Latin American heritage:

...it is correct to say that Puerto Rican culture has a distinguishable and particular character. Puerto Ricans speak Spanish; they have their own cuisine; their patterns of social relationships reveal their cultural character in such matters as styles of speech, relationships between men and women, relationships between parents and children, and in many other ways. These features, however, are not uniformly shared by all Puerto Ricans.

Mintz (1966:365) emphasizes the point that while the populations of the various Hispanic Caribbean islands share a common cultural base, "they do not regard themselves as members of some single 'Hispanic' society, however much such a view may be espoused." The critical aspect of group identification for Puerto Ricans is Puerto Rico rather than *la raza*.

While identification as a Puerto Rican is clearly an important aspect of group identity, and becomes even more so in the context of migration and living on the mainland (Padilla, 1964/1958:34-35 and Rogler, 1972:201-208), the exact content and meaning of the cultural heritage is complex and fluid. Some authors focus on the processes of change which result from culture contact.

Fitzpatrick (1971:3;51), for example, argues that a major problem for Puerto Rican Americans is the quest for identity. He notes that developments

in Puerto Rico, including the ambiguous political status, rapid social and economic development, anxieties of a rapidly rising middle-class, uncertainties provoked by developments in the Catholic Church, all contribute to a problem of identity among Puerto Ricans on the island even before migration.

G. Lewis (1963:264) argues that because of cultural imperialism Puerto Ricans have suffered a deep sense of cultural loss and distortion. He asserts: "Puerto Ricans thus have been unable to identify fully either with North Americans or with fellow Latin Americans." Glazer and Moynihan (1963: 129) claim that Puerto Ricans are characterized by "cultural schizophrenia."

The Puerto Ricans, despite their numbers in the city [New York], come from a small country, in which the Spanish cultural heritage has not been strong and has been affected by sixty years of contact with America to produce a certain amount of cultural schizophrenia...

Seda's (1973:44; 167; 172-173, 1966:113) work also emphasizes the problems of identity generated by social, economic, political and cultural change. In a community study on the island, he concludes that the new generation are rejecting their cultural past and their elders' traditions "with its focus on the plaza, *compadrazgo*, rosary gatherings, saint celebrations, folk songs and folk philosophy." He analyzes a process of erosion of elements of identity and orientation, uncertainties in definitions of identity, and confusion with regard to the proper norms of conduct. "The consequent ambiguity, incomprehension, and desperation were the most salient characteristics of community life." In an earlier work based on research in New York (1966:113), Seda observed that among white Puerto Ricans there was a reluctance to admit to being Puerto Rican because of the negative stereotypes held by the wider society for the group as a whole.

In summary then, national and cultural identity as Puerto Ricans is an important, though some say threatened, aspect of group identification.

The Spanish language is also mentioned by a number of authors as a

critical aspect of group identification. Franklin (1981:11) Mintz (1966), Ramirez (1964) and others discuss the importance of Spanish. Mintz (1966:371) asserts that a value statement which finds considerable support in the literature is the near-universal use of Spanish and its attached sentimental significance. Elaborating further on this point, Mintz (1966:359) states:

...It is not the Spanish language which gives Puerto Rico its distinctiveness nor is it merely Puerto Rico's historical affiliation with the Spanish cultural stream. But the speaking of Spanish in Puerto Rico has special characteristics and symbolic meanings, such that it may be viewed as distinctive within the Puerto Rican - as opposed to Mexican, Spanish, or some other Hispanic - context.

Franklin (1981:11) goes so far as to argue that Spanish is even more important for Puerto Ricans than for Mexican Americans:

...Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans are proud of their distinct cultures and especially of their language. One Puerto Rican recently said that the Spanish language was for his people a unifying factor and a guardian of their identity. Both groups tend to hold fast to it, the Puerto Ricans apparently with greater tenacity than the Mexican Americans...

Ramirez (1964) concludes that Puerto Ricans are not ready yet to give up Spanish as their main language.

Another aspect of group identification can be seen in the terms used by the group to refer to itself. On the whole, there is less elaboration on this point in the literature than was true for Mexican Americans. Padilla (1964/1958:34) for example, remarks that the term *Hispano* was preferred to the term *Puerto Rican* because in the United States the term *Puerto Rican* had negative connotations. Rogler (1972:207) also observes that Puerto Ricans on the mainland tend to see themselves as a distinct group and that they used terms such as *Hispano* and *la raza* to refer to themselves.

Both Padilla (1964/1958:53) and Rogler (1972:203), whose studies were carried out with stateside Puerto Ricans, emphasize the fact that Puerto Ricans generally share a perception of their group as one which has a low

socio-economic status. Padilla (1964/1958:53) observes that Puerto Ricans have come to share many of the general societal prejudices against the group. Rogler (1972:203) notes that in discussions of the group, Puerto Ricans tended to place the group at the bottom rung of the ladder. He also asserts that Puerto Ricans often believed that certain negative attributes were characteristic of the group, such as lack of solidarity, inability to co-operate, and lack of interest in group improvement. This type of self-criticism of the group, however, as Padilla makes clear (p.55) is acceptable only from group members in situations where only group members are present. For a non-Puerto Rican to criticize the group, or for a Puerto Rican to criticize the group to outsiders, was not considered acceptable behavior.

Another point about group identification made by Fitzpatrick (1971:109) and Padilla (1964/1958:53) is that stateside Puerto Ricans do not want to be identified with other U.S. minority groups and especially do not want to be identified with American Blacks. As Fitzpatrick (1971:108) points out, this poses a dilemma for darker-skinned Puerto Ricans, who, in confrontation with the North American form of racial prejudice, may have problems choosing between identification as a Puerto Rican or as a Black.

Another aspect of group identification which is mentioned by a number of authors is Catholicism. Wells (1969:49-50) asserts that while the people of Puerto Rico were never strongly attached to the Roman Catholic Church as an institution, they had a strong tradition of folk Catholicism. Lewis' (1966:xxxvii) description of lower-class Puerto Rican Catholicism is in the same vein. He describes the lower-class people as "nominal Catholics" where the emphasis was on the devotion to the saints combined with a belief in spiritualism and scorcery. Mintz's (1966:424) assessment of the nature of Puerto Rican Catholicism is as follows:

Puerto Rico is a Catholic country; but it is not just any Catholic country, it is Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican Catholicism is much differentiated in class

and other terms, and other religions - particularly the nonecumenical Protestant sects - have grown rapidly at the cost of a formal and sometimes empty rural Catholicism. All the same, many of what appears to be widely held or basic values in Puerto Rican life flow from the Catholic spirit; being a "bad" Catholic (consensual marriage, not attending church, not going to confession, etc.) does not signify an absence of Catholicism, but occurs within the context of the presence of Catholicism. The concept of a supernatural order; the belief that objects may possess supernatural powers; the division (implicit, to be sure) of women into "Marys" and "Eves"; the veneration of Mary and of motherhood; the confirmed use of external sanctions to atone for sins (penance) and of external social devices to control, prevent and punish behavior; the double standard; the much-used institution of *compadrazgo* - these, and much else, suggest the underlying power of a Catholic ideology which, in Puerto Rico's case is less expressed as an aspect of religiosity than as an aspect of national character.

Neither spiritualism (see Koss, 1977) nor Protestantism (see Mintz, 1960) appear to be as powerful as Catholicism in terms of group identification, at least for the majority of Puerto Ricans.

A number of authors discuss problematic aspects of the group identification of Puerto Ricans. The *barrio*, so important in Mexican American culture, does not play the same role for Puerto Ricans in part because their migration history is so different. While some Puerto Ricans came in early programs for temporary agricultural laborers, the majority of migration was directly to large urban centers and New York in particular. Puerto Ricans did not, at least initially, form strong ethnic communities in the big cities. Padilla (1964/1958) notes, for example, that the Puerto Rican neighborhood which she studied was not exclusively Puerto Rican, but was a poor neighborhood which included a number of ethnic groups. Fitzpatrick (1971:3) explains this absence of the strong ethnic neighborhood in the following observation about New York: "Initial dispersal over wide areas, continued relocation, and the policy of integration in public housing make it more difficult for Puerto Ricans to establish or retain stable and strong Puerto Rican

neighborhoods." Generally in the literature discussions of the importance of community solidarity, the cohesiveness of a rural neighborhood or the *esprit de corps* of an urban shanty town, all come from descriptions of life on the island rather than on the mainland (Mintz, 1956, Wolf, 1956:238, Safa, 1974)

Another area which differs from Mexican Americans is with regard to *Indigenismo*. Oscar Lewis (1966:xvi) observed that while Mexico takes great pride in its Indian past, Puerto Ricans can not point to either a great Indian or Negro past: "Nor are Puerto Rican Negroes especially conscious of their own distinctive African origins...in part this is due to a long process of racial integration of which Puerto Ricans are so proud."

The last topic to be discussed for group identification of Puerto Ricans is the fact of internal heterogeneity of the group. Social class, as with Mexican Americans, appears to play a highly significant role. Padilla (1964/1958:27-28) ranks social class distinctions among Puerto Ricans as more significant than ethnic group identification. The Steward volume (1956) and Mintz (1966:369) repeatedly make the point that cultural traits, values, behaviors and symbolic meanings vary by sub-cultural group within Puerto Rico. Another important division with implications for identification is the one between islanders and mainlanders; of course, even this division is not clear cut because of the repeated movement of persons to and from the island. Padilla (1964/1958:59), for example, elaborates at length on the differences between Puerto Ricans raised in New York and new migrants to the city. Continued residence in the United States over a number of generations will certainly only add to the diversity of this group.

(4) *Cubans*

The history and situation of Cubans in the United States differs in several fundamental ways from the other Hispanic groups. First, Cubans, except for a small number who migrated earlier, are primarily political refugees, exiles from the Cuban Revolution. Both Pérez (1980:258) and Portes (1969:507) emphasize the point that the Cubans were pushed rather than pulled to the United States. Portes (1969:507) further points out that for the majority of Cubans, unlike most other immigrants, the possibility of returning to the country of origin is psychologically closed. Another point often stressed in the literature is that the class composition of the Cuban exiles is different from the class composition of other Hispanic immigrants. Although all socio-economic classes were represented among Cubans, the middle and upper sectors of Cuban society were over-represented in the groups which came to the United States. Lastly, another difference between the Cubans and other Hispanics is that because the Cubans were considered political refugees they received a relatively positive welcome in the United States and a certain amount of concrete governmental aid in the process of resettlement.

Similar to Puerto Ricans, the Cubans are described as strongly identifying themselves with their country and its cultural heritage. Portes (1969:507) asserts: "Together with hostility to the Castro regime, they brought a great attachment to and pride in their old values and style of life, a clearly defined self-identity as Cubans, and an intense desire to return." Pérez' (1980:258) analysis is similar:

...most Cuban immigrants fiercely attempt to retain the culture and way of life they knew in prerevolutionary Cuba. Their effort is strongly nostalgic, because it invokes the way of life of another place and another time, without contact with the homeland. In short, they behave like most groups of exiles throughout history.

One difference then, between Cubans and other Hispanic groups, is that the Cubans are exiles and the other Hispanics are predominantly immigrants, many of whom are able to maintain contact with their countries of origin and conceivably have the alternative of returning. Cuban culture and nationalism in the United States has a certain "frozen in time" quality, referred to by Pérez above, because it refers to an era in Cuban history previous to the Castro regime.

Be that as it may, the literature stresses that Cubans in the United States are generally very interested in maintaining their identities as Cubans. Gil (1976:231), who studied Cubans in Los Angeles, also emphasizes loyalty to the cultural heritage:

...Cultural maintenance appears most strongly in Cubans' loyalty to their heritage, their homeland, and the mother tongue, which despite increased use of English in the home, is still the dominant mode of intra-cultural relations.

On the whole, then, the cultural tenacity of Los Angeles Cubans continues strong, however, not as strong nor as uniform as suggested in the studies of Cubans done in Miami or where there is a concentration of Cubans forming a geographic, ethnic pocket.

Pérez (1980:260) points out that Miami Cubans have created their own elementary and secondary schools in order to strengthen the maintenance of the Cuban cultural heritage. He observes that in these Cuban schools the instruction is mostly in Spanish, discipline is strict, and Cuban history, geography and culture are taught. He asserts that these schools flourish because "many Cuban parents are greatly concerned with transmitting to their children their language and culture."

Again, the literature indicates that Cubans identify primarily as Cubans and not as members of some more amorphous Hispanic culture. It appears that even more than the Puerto Ricans, Cubans - and this is probably in part related to social class considerations - do not consider themselves as part of the brotherhood of *la raza*. Pérez (1980:260) makes this point

quite clearly:

...Furthermore, there appears to be a lack of social and cultural integration between Cubans and other Hispanic groups in U.S. cities with sizeable and differentiated Spanish-speaking populations. Of the major Hispanic groups, only the Cubans have come as political exiles, and this has resulted in social, economic and class differences. In the New York area, Cubans and Puerto Ricans maintain a distinct social distance. Many Cubans feel or perceive that they have little in common with Puerto Ricans, Mexicans or Dominicans.

Despite common elements of Hispanic or Latin American culture, the group identification is primarily defined in terms of nationality. This appears to be changing somewhat, however, for younger Cubans who see themselves more as immigrants than exiles and who are starting to work together with Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Hispanic coalitions (Pérez, 1980:260).

Another important aspect of group identification is the Cuban ethnic community which the literature unanimously describes as very strong. The largest and best described Cuban communities are those of Miami and West New York (New Jersey). Gil (1976) claims that the Los Angeles Cuban community is also strong despite the fact that it, unlike the others, is physically dispersed rather than geographically concentrated.

The Miami Cuban community of Little Havana is the recognized seat of Cuban culture in the United States. Pérez (1980:258-260) notes that Miami is officially bilingual and that there are many Spanish stores, clubs, restaurants, bookstores, magazines, newspapers and even radio and television. He observes: "Acculturation and assimilation have been slow in Miami, as is to be expected in a community as self-sufficient as Little Havana." Gil's (1976:24-25) comments on Miami are as follows:

...In Miami, the presence of an established Cuban sub-culture works to neutralize the motivational forces that would otherwise work to integrate the emigre.

...Such a concentration of emigres as in Miami allows for the rewarding of modes of behavior identified with the past; and such open behavior is encouraged and legitimized.

...The size of the community, commitments to old values and to a "return" goal, together with a strong identification with pre-Castro Cuba and their past lives, have worked against the Miami Cuban's cultural integration into the United States. There has been little motivation to overcome old commitments, values, and styles of life.

Both authors emphasize that it is easier to maintain one's Cuban identity in a large Cuban settlement like Miami which mitigates the need for contact and integration with the larger society. Pérez (1980:258) observes:

...In Miami, the exiles can fulfill all their needs in all aspects of their lives within the ethnic community. They can work, shop, bank, and be entertained in establishments owned or managed by other Cubans, where only Spanish is spoken.

Research carried out by Rogg (1974) and Rogg and Cooney (1980) in the Cuban community of West New York repeatedly stresses the importance and strength of the ethnic community there. In Rogg's first study (1974:45) she observes that the Cubans in West New York formed an "extremely strong" ethnic community which was geographically close together. She notes that many of the Cubans there came from the same places in Cuba and that there was a high level of interaction, between neighbors and among relatives. The restudy by Rogg and Cooney (1980:6;23) found that the community continued to be strong. They note that the strong ethnic community mitigated against stress and provided Cubans with "a sense of identity and support through primary group relationships." They assert that within the ethnic community there is a high level of mutual aid: "there is a clear pattern of mutual help and support, not only among immediate family, but also among friends, neighbors and co-workers." Two-thirds of the Cubans surveyed by Rogg and Cooney (1980:18) agreed with the statement "I prefer to live in neighborhoods where there are many Cubans."

Gil's (1976:82-125) investigation of the Cubans in Los Angeles led him to the conclusion that while the Cubans there were more physically dispersed, they still continued to identify and act together so that there was a

community "cognitively" and socially cohesive. He observes:

...There is a strong preference among respondents for social contacts with other Cubans reinforced by having many Cuban friends...Cuban to non-Cuban interactions are weak and are sparsely engaged...Cubans emerge as the dominant acquaintance group. Subjectively, Cubans prefer to associate with other Cubans first, and then Americans. (p.87)

...these social functions provide the local Cuban with a sense of community, reinforcing valued patterns of behavior, Cuban food, dress, social preferences, and class distinctions. (p.116)

Overall, the Cuban chooses to live in continuous affective-expressive relationships with his friends. (p.117)

Overall, the ratings suggest that more is gained, status-wise, by interacting within the enclave since it is here that Cuban status is preserved more readily. (p.125)

In summary then, the literature suggests that the strong ethnic community is an important aspect of Cuban group identification.

The Spanish language is also an important component of Cuban group identification, and as with other Hispanics, there is a strong emphasis on maintenance of the mother tongue. Pérez (1980:258) asserts: "The use of Spanish is perhaps the most tangible evidence of their cultural maintenance." One reason cited for the creation of the Cuban schools was so as to provide instruction in Spanish. Gil (1976:231) and other authors concur in the clear link between language and the maintenance of Cuban cultural traditions.

Catholicism seems to be an important aspect of group identification. Pérez (1980:259) notes that "Most Cubans in the United States are nominally Roman Catholics...Church-related organizations are among the most important voluntary associations in the community." Rogg (1974:41) and Rogg and Cooney (1980:16) agree and state: "The Catholic Church became the key secondary ethnic institution for Cubans living in West New York." The literature suggests that the Catholic Church has assumed an even more important role in peoples' lives in exile than it did previously in Cuba. In terms of religion

it should also be noted, as does Pérez (1980:259), that some Cubans are Protestants and some are involved in *santería*, a syncretized Afro-Cuban cult.

One book discusses the phenomenon of *Indigenismo* among Cubans, although this discussion is apparently more applicable to Cuba itself than to Cuban Americans. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:34) point out that some Cubans emphasize aspects of their Indian heritage.

...Recently it has become fashionable among nationalists to point to various Indian chiefs as the first heroes of the centuries-old struggle against foreign domination and to try and identify indigenous Indian traits in modern Cuban culture. The best-known Indian resistance hero is Hatuey, a name better known as that of a popular beer. Indian culture survives in place names, plant names, and in the rural *bohío* [house type].

Although the African elements in Cuban culture are more important and pronounced than is true for Mexican American or Puerto Rican culture, there is little discussion of this aspect of identity in much of the literature on Cuban Americans. This may be the case because the emigres were predominantly the middle and upper sectors of Cuban society and were predominantly lighter-skinned or white. This topic will be further explored in a later section of social differentiation by race.

Lastly, it should be added that much research on Cuban Americans focuses on the processes of change. The literature generally emphasizes that the Cubans have made a relatively good adjustment to the United States and hence, are inevitably caught up in the processes of acculturation and assimilation. This is especially true of the second generation, many of whom feel that they are caught between two cultures (Rogg, 1974:134). Integration of Cubans in North American society has been facilitated by a number of factors such as the positive reaction of the American public toward the exiles from communism, the similarity of basic values between Cubans and Americans in many areas, and the relatively high level of skills with which many Cubans

came. Success of various kinds in the United States contributes to a weakening of identification in terms of the ethnic group. Portes' (1969:515) conclusions are:

...For those families who have had highly favorable experiences in the United States, the weakening of old values and identity has led to increasing integrative "cultural mixtures." Increasing integration in turn facilitates attainment of higher socioeconomic rewards and the occurrence of other favorable experiences in the United States, giving rise to an "integrative circle." On the other hand, sufferings and frustrations in the United States strengthen old cultural attachments and return goals, which, in turn, may further isolate the family from its new environment, causing a non-integrative circular pattern.

(5) *Other Hispanics*

There is little discussion of aspects of group identification in the reviewed literature on Hispanics. A few interesting points, however, are raised.

Szalay's (1978:89) research emphasizes the importance of the community to Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area. He states:

In response to the concept of community, the Hispanic Americans again reveal a strong sense of group identification, of the interrelatedness and interdependence of people...The Hispanic Americans think primarily in terms of large communities, such as society, culture, and ethnic or national identity. Perhaps these associations point to a growing sense of "ethnic" identity among Latin Americans within the larger North American culture.

Cohen's (1979:10-11) research on Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area includes a discussion of the way that Hispanic children cope with the Anglo educational system to which they are exposed. She observes that some children cope by "compartmentalization": "They live in two worlds, cushioned from areas of conflict in values." Others, she notes, tend to reject their cultural heritage, seek Anglo role models, and seek identification with Anglo society.

In-Group

(1) Summary

The literature provides a remarkably consistent picture of the importance of the family and kinship among the various Hispanic groups. Familism is generally said to be characteristic of Hispanic culture. The basic descriptions of familism in each of the various Hispanic groups are very similar to each other.

Many authors state that the family is the most important social institution in Hispanic culture. Identification with the family, the importance of the extended family, mutual help and obligations, loyalty, reciprocity, and other aspects are discussed by writers on Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Hispanics. Extension of kinship ties by means of *compadrazgo*, or godparenthood, is also discussed for all Hispanic groups. The family seems to be the most important in-group in Hispanic culture.

Other authors discuss the Hispanic preference for associating in smaller and more intimate groups rather than larger and more formal organizations. A tendency of this kind is mentioned by authors writing on the various Hispanic groups.

(2) Mexican Americans

The family, which means both the nuclear family and relatives living inside or outside the household, is generally considered to be the single most important social institution of Mexican American life (Madsen, 1973:19, Murillo, 1976:20). The most important role of an individual is his or her familial role, and the interests and needs of the family usually come before individual interests. Almost all authors describe a high level of family solidarity and loyalty to family as some of the most cherished values of Mexican American culture.

For example, Mead (1953:170) asserts that the New Mexican village

culture was "family centered" and that the family (p.176) formed the primary group of identification. Knowlton (1973:298) also discusses the stress on family unity in New Mexican villages, noting that individuals were subordinated to family groups. Gonzalez (1967:59), also writing on New Mexico, describes the importance and solidarity of the family which included relatives beyond the nuclear family. She states (p.60) that the extended family in Mexican American culture is important in ways unparalleled in the Anglo world.

Achor (1978:39), in her description of a Dallas *barrio*, also notes that it is to the family that the individual feels the deepest sense of loyalty, belonging and commitment. She asserts that this loyalty is also extended to members of the extended family and close friends who are often considered as "part of the family." Landolt (1976:345-346), writing on San Antonio, asserts that the focus of the Mexican ethnic value system was the unity of the family which meant the patriarchal extended family and *compadrazgo*. Kagan (1977:77), in his review of the literature, also remarks on how Mexican American culture fosters and encourages family-centered attitudes and behaviors; loyalty to family members, he asserts, is of critical importance. Meier and Rivera (1972:xviii), in discussing Mexican American values which differ from Anglo values, include in their list the Mexican American emphasis on kinship ties and a strong loyalty to family. Edmonson's (1957:54) early work makes a similar point.

The family is described as the main focus of social identification, and each member represents the group to the outside world. Madsen (1973:46) asserts that every Mexican American is a walking symbol of his or her family. The honor or good name of the family is dependent on the behavior of all its members. Dishonorable behavior by a family member brings shame on the entire family, and a dishonored individual may be asked to leave or in other

ways be cut out from family life and identity (Achor, 1978:41, Murillo, 1976:20).

The close ties of family members are constantly reinforced by patterns of mutual aid. Mexican American culture is described as placing the highest possible priority on fulfilling obligations and responsibilities to kin. The high level of mutual aid between relatives is repeatedly stressed in the literature by authors such as Achor (1978:42), Aguilar (1979:153), Gonzalez (1967:60), Goodman and Beman (1968), Heller (1968:34), Murillo (1976:20) and Wagner and Schaffer (1980:182-183). Obligations to kin are taken very seriously. Madsen (1973:19) remarks that one of the worst possible sins in Mexican American culture is to violate one's obligations to one's parents and siblings. The importance of mutual aid within the kin network is clearly illustrated by a study of Mexican American, Black and Anglo female household heads (Wagner and Schaffer, 1980:181-183) which showed that the Mexican American single females had larger kin networks available and received help from parents, siblings and godparents, more than either the Black or Anglo women.

The strong Mexican American family is also described as providing emotional security for its members. Keefe, Padilla et al. (1978:40), for example, state: "Foremost among the sources of emotional support relied upon by Mexican Americans is the extended family." Achor (1978:117) notes that for the more tradition-oriented Mexican Americans in Dallas, the emotional and psychological rewards of a close-knit family and supportive interactions among people with whom one feels at ease are of the greatest importance. Murillo (1976:20) also asserts that the Mexican American family provides emotional and material security to its members. Heller (1968:38) observed that in Mexican American culture parental love was freely given and not conditional.

Other aspects of familism described in the literature also point up the strength and cohesiveness of the Mexican American family. Achor (1978:41) and Gonzalez (1967:60) describe how most visiting and socializing occurs between family members. Madsen (1973:48) and Clark (1959:156) describe how relatives try to live close by one another to facilitate more frequent contact among family members. Kagan (1977:77) describes how ties to relatives are warm and friendly and how it is preferred that a child's best friend be a sibling. Ramirez (1976:197) notes that Mexican American children show a high need for achievement when the achievement is linked to the family. This is consistent with an observation by Goodman and Beman (1968:89) that when they asked children who they loved, the Mexican American children only listed their relatives, whereas Black and Anglo children often listed friends.

Another aspect of familism is the extension of the family group through the Catholic institution of *compadrazgo*, or ritual co-parenthood.¹ The godparents of the baptism, and sometimes of other life crisis rituals, become the ritual or fictive kin to the family of the godchild. The central relationship formed is generally the one between the adults, that is, between the "co-parents." Ties of kinship, loyalty, trust, mutual aid and obligations unite them. Formerly the relationship between *compadres* (co-parents) was characterized as warm and friendly but also formal in that *compadres* were not supposed to tease, joke, argue or fight with each other (Clark, 1959:158). Today it appears that some of the more formal and constrained elements of the co-parenthood relationship have been dropped (Achor, 1978:70)

Both relatives and non-relatives can be asked to be godparents. When relatives are the godparents they become linked by bonds even more binding

1. For a more complete description and analysis of the evolution and varieties of Latin American ritual co-parenthood, see Wolf and Mintz, 1967.

than kinship alone. Non-relatives become fictive kin. Linkages established through ritual co-parenthood can be either horizontal (symmetrical) or vertical (assymetrical). Horizontal ties are established with one's socio-economic equals, and vertical ties are those established with one's socio-economic superiors. Assymetrical relationships seem to have been more common in an earlier era when patron-client relationships, such as between paternalistic landowners and their workers, were more typical. Reports from urban areas and more homogenous communities show that horizontal relationships now predominate (Achor, 1978:70).

A number of ethnographers and other researchers assert that ritual co-parenthood continues to be important and functional, even in more urban contexts. Achor (1978:70), Clark (1959:157), Heller (1968:34), Henderson (1979:11) and Madsen (1973:49) all report that *compadrazgo* continues to be an important institution in Mexican American life. Clark (1959:157), who observed that *compadrazgo* was very important in the California urban neighborhood which she studied, stressed the institution's integrative functions. She notes that ritual co-parenthood functions to (1) formalize friendship and extend the kin group, (2) enhance neighborhood solidarity, and (3) strengthen ties within families. The general impression given by the literature is that today *compadrazgo* relationships are formed primarily between socio-economic equals and increasingly between relatives in order to promote and foster stronger family bonds.

A somewhat different perspective on familism is provided in the study by Grebler et al. (1970:351-355). They discuss what they call the classical social science view of Mexican American familism. This view posits that it is familism which acts as a barrier to the absorption of new values and as a brake on individual socio-economic mobility. The social science literature, they assert, has generally linked the Mexican American family to the maintenance of "Mexicaness." The study also questions the extent of familism.

They note that relations between members of extended families, such as visiting, were diminishing. They claim that *compadrazgo* was but a minor feature of urban life. In short, they conclude that familism is declining.

The solidarity of the kin group stands in rather stark contrast to some of the descriptions of Mexican American relations with non-kin. Mexican American relations with non-kin have been described as brittle and easily broken (Rubel, 1970:262), primarily dyadic (Rubel, 1970:257), open to suspicion (Madsen, 1973:25), and as sometimes lacking in trust (Achor, 1978:71). Burma (1970:251) asserts that Mexican American friendship patterns tend to be deep and narrow, with relationships formed primarily within the family. What these authors seem to be suggesting is that the trust and loyalty which characterizes interactions among members of the in-group are not expected to characterize interactions with outsiders. Outsiders who form intimate and trusted relationships are often brought into the kin group by *compadrazgo* or other forms of fictive kinship. The descriptions of the amount of social distance between the kin group and outsiders, and the tightness or looseness of the borders of the in-group, seem to vary according to the time and place research was carried out. Gonzalez (1967:73), for example, stressed that she found no evidence of hostility, lack of trust and general disaffection among unrelated persons in New Mexico. Rubel (1970:212-224), Romano (1960) and others report considerable social distance between the kin group and outsiders.

The characteristics of familism in Mexican American culture have been sketched here in only the barest outline. Space does not permit the inclusion of the wealth of details found in the ethnographic literature. Nor can we investigate variations in family structure and organization by socioeconomic class or level of acculturation/assimilation. The predominant conclusion of the literature is that familism is an important aspect of

Mexican American life in the United States. The kin group is generally viewed as the most important social institution in Mexican American life and the most important source of identification for individuals. As *la raza* functions to define the broadest and most inclusive in-group, the family seems to demarcate the most active and narrowly defined in-group the one that holds the highest level of meaning for daily life and interpersonal interactions.

The Mexican American preference for small, closely knit groups over large and more formal organizations seems linked to the emphasis on familism in the culture. Burma (1970:25) claims that Mexican Americans tend to interact more within small groups, such as the family, gang, clique or *compadrazgo*, and less in more formalized and organized relationships such as with neighbors, fellow workers or in organizations. Burma also claims that (p. 251) Mexican Americans tend to take a narrower "I-and-mine" rather than a broader "we-group" outlook. Ulibarri (1970:35-36) also stresses the Mexican American reliance on the family group and tendency to not belong to larger organizations. It is, of course, a question whether or not this is a correct interpretation and if it continues to characterize Mexican Americans today.

(3) *Puerto Ricans*

The Puerto Rican family, similar to the Mexican American family, is considered by most authors to be the single most important institution in Puerto Rican life. Mintz (1956:375), for example, states that in the community of sugar cane workers, "the family is the most important single social institution in the lives of the people...The family thus emerges as a powerful force in shaping daily human relations and in providing the setting for growth, training, and socialization of the young." Manners (1956:152) similarly observed that in the community which he studied there was a strong emphasis on family unity and cooperation, and that people took seriously

their family obligations. Steward (1956:472), summarizing the community studies carried out by his team, notes that within the rural communities, the family constituted the household and formed the basic economic and social unit.

Landy (1959:154), in another study, emphasizes that despite some wear, the family is still the most important primary group in the community. Padilla (1964/1958:170) elaborates on the emphasis on family unity and loyalty in New York. She also asserts (p. 249): "Among Hispanos the most characteristic and preferred relationships are those with family, kin and other small groups, which are based on mutual affection, assistance, and social equality." Glazer and Moynihan (1963:90) point to some weaknesses of Puerto Rican families on the mainland, but also state: "the family, despite these weaknesses, was perhaps one of the stronger elements in the Puerto Rican situation." Seda (1973:34-36), in another study done on the island, demonstrates how importantly his informants ranked obligations to the family. Ramirez (1964), in listing the attributes of traditional Puerto Rican culture, lists "strong family ties" as one defining trait.

Wells (1969:44) elaborates on the traditional importance of the Puerto Rican family. He notes that children learn attitudinal and behavior patterns which promote family solidarity. He states that the bonds of mutual loyalty and obligation go beyond the nuclear family to include both the extended family and "outsiders co-opted into the narrower family circle by the *compadrazgo* relationship." Wells (1969:29-30) claims that Puerto Ricans generally have few intimates but the few that they have they prize very highly. Intimates, Wells asserts, normally include three categories of persons: (1) members of one's family, (2) those who are linked to one through *compadrazgo*, and (3) a limited number of others with whom one has developed a relationship of *mera pura amistad* (pure and simple friendship).

Similar to the literature on Mexican Americans, writers on Puerto Rican culture seem ready to make the generalization that this is a family centered culture. Loyalty and mutual aid between kin are repeatedly stressed in the literature. Although it might not be true for other classes Manners (1956: 33) emphasizes that, for lower-class Puerto Ricans, recreation occurred mainly within the family context and visiting was confined mainly to kin and ritual kin. Mintz (1956:375) observed that the sugar cane workers had two principal loyalties, one to their families and ritual kin, and the other to their political party.

The importance of the extended family varies somewhat in the accounts in the literature. Mintz (1956:382), for example, observed that people lived in nuclear family units, but that each nuclear family was tied by a wide variety of blood, ritual and marriage ties to many other homes. Other accounts stress a certain amount of breakdown in extended family ties. Padilla (1956:292-294) observed that children are taught loyalty to the immediate family, but that obligations to kin outside the nuclear family were tenuous. Landy (1959:52;231) observed that the customary emphasis on the extended family is partially disintegrating although relatives still play an important role in child socialization. In summary, Landy asserts that the traditional extended family and ritual kinship ties still exist, but are becoming increasingly attenuated.

Most authors also provide analytical descriptions of the importance of the institution of *compadrazgo* (Fitzpatrick, 1971:82, Padilla, 1964/1958: 39-41; 120, Safa, 1974:49, Wells, 1969:44). The formation of the ties of ritual kinship create additional bonds of mutual aid and loyalty between people. Wells (1969:44) observes that in the traditional setting, co-parents are supposed to owe each other unfailing regard, trust and consideration and are expected to turn to each other for help in minor and major problems

and crises. Wolf (1956:209) observed that, "co-parents are bound to mutual help, to mutual respect, and to mutual defense, and they are enjoined from ever fighting each other."

Mintz (1966:358) observes that the relationships established by means of *compadrazgo* are so functionally important that many people acquire several sets, one form of which is no more than ritualized friendship. "The institution serves to tie together families in cordial and sacred ways, to give religious sponsorship to children, and to fulfill many psychological motives of the participants."

Most authors stress that *compadrazgo* continues to be quite important (e.g. Mintz, 1956:387 and Padilla, 1956:294). Landy (1959:53), Manners (1956:150), Padilla (1956:295) and Safa (1974:49) all make the point that the institution is increasingly carried out between socio-economic equals.

Again there is a distinction between appropriate behavior with members of the in-group and behavior appropriate for outsiders. Seda (1958:90) remarks:

Life in the community was highly solidary. *Los de aqui* (those from here) and *los extraños* (the strangers) were clearly distinguished. A stranger in the community was accorded courtesy and deference until familiarity was established.

Landy (1959:235; 246) discusses a lack of trust of outsiders: "The child thus learns to trust few people or situations outside the family circle."

Landy also claims that men's relationships to other men tended to be brittle and easily fragmented. He makes (p.194) a contrast between the highly developed sense of familism and what he calls "a fragile sense of community solidarity" and lack of a strong sense of communal responsibility and duty.

Padilla (1964/1958:57;283) also notes that Puerto Ricans in New York emphasized the importance of being careful about selecting friends and the necessity of trusting only a few people. Seda (1973:35) remarks that the people in the island community which he studied saw all types of friendship

as suspect because of the possibility of undermining moral influence. Mintz (1966:392), in his review of the literature on Puerto Rican national culture, concludes that while Puerto Ricans saw others as both good *and* evil, they often held that everyday life seems to prove that people are out to trick and exploit one another. A dissenting opinion, in contrast to the statements above, is Oscar Lewis' (1966:xxxiii) observation that the people in the slum which he studied were outgoing, friendly and expressive with relatively little distrust of outsiders.

Again, one can assume that there probably exists a great deal of variation in these patterns by socio-economic class and between the island and the mainland. Many of the statements regarding familism in Puerto Rican culture come from the very early study of Julian Steward (1956) and his associates, and many subsequent books and articles are also based on the early Steward work. Hence, one can conceivably wonder if the statements made regarding familism are equally applicable today.

(4) *Cubans*

The literature on Cubans, similar to the literature on Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, discusses familism. The family is again considered to be one of the most important, if not *the* most important social institution in Cuban society. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:51;99), whose book focused on the pre-revolution island society, provide some relevant background:

The family is the most important social institution not so much because of its strength and scope as because other institutions - church, school, community - have been weak. (p.51)

...In the rural areas, particularly those more isolated, family ties are extensive, and neighborhoods may be made up of related families. (p.51)

At all social levels in pre-Castro Cuba the special claims of relatives were recognized and

often determined the choice when privileges were distributed. In the lower class the cooperation of relatives was limited to sharing food and houseroom; in the upper class, nepotism was not only possible and permissible but expected. (p.51)

The family is the group within which trust prevails, magnanimity is displayed, personalities are respected, and competition and envy kept to the minimum. Relationships of trust are most easily established with relatives...Beyond the family, confidence prevails in associations patterned after it, up to the widest possible association, the united nation (*la familia Cubana*) which has never existed as more than an ideal passionately or wistfully sought after. The closest pseudokinship relationship is that of *compadrazgo*... It is of greater importance in the lower than in the upper class. (p.99)

The literature suggests that the Cuban family continues to be important in the United States. Szapocznik (1980:66), for example in an article on Cuban elderly, says, "with Cuban elders, as with most persons of an Hispanic background, the family is the central ecological system." Gil (1976:95-97), in his study of Los Angeles Cubans, also discusses familism, noting that most Cubans' social interactions take place within the primary group which is composed of kin and a few peer associations. He asserts:

The continuation of a nuclear family structure is sanctioned and perpetuated by a set of values which stress familism, cohesiveness, respect for patriarchs, the elderly and adulation of the mother... Extended kinships play a functional role in the maintenance of the nuclear family.

Fox (1973:276), in a discussion of Latin values which characterize Cubans also notes the central importance of the notions of honor and virtue. Honor and virtue are maintained principally by fulfilling one's family obligations and treating others with respect. Pérez (1980:259), in a review article on Cubans in the United States, observes: "Cubans still place a great value on family ties; the family is usually viewed as stable and strong, but there are also some signs of disintegration."

Who is included in the Cuban family? Gil (1976:96) answers this question:

Collateral kin compose the family circle of most Cubans; siblings, in-laws, cousins. Collectively they form the most important segment of the primary group. Cuban children exhibit traditionally close kinship ties, especially with parents, and emotively between daughters and mothers.

Pérez (1980:259) observes that Cuban households in the United States often contain other relatives, such as a grandparent, in addition to the nuclear family. In fact he notes that Cubans, according to the 1977 U.S. Census estimates, lived as "other relatives" in families (8.8%) more so than Mexican Americans (5.9%), mainland Puerto Ricans (4.0%) or the U.S. population as a whole (3.9%). Alum (1977:13) also describes the strong sense of obligations that Cuban American children feel toward their elders; he notes that they generally find the concept of nursing homes for the elderly shocking because they consider it a moral obligation to care for their elderly at home.

Rogg's (1974:35-37) study of the Cuban community in West New York, New Jersey, also notes the emphasis which the Cubans put on the family. She notes that, "Cuban refugees expressed feelings that they more strongly guarded their family bonds than did U.S. citizens." She states that Cubans seem to stress family concerns more than the success-achievement theme, although she notes that increasing levels of education seem to correlate with decreasing emphasis on the family.

The family group is again described as providing much mutual aid and other types of support to members. Rogg (1974:35) states that 85% of her sample agreed with the statement that one ought to be able to resort to one's family for anything. Sixty percent felt that relatives were the only dependable ones to help with trouble. Szapocznik (1978b:114), in an article dealing with Cuban mental health issues, suggests that the low number of Cuban heroin users in Miami was related to the strong Cuban family structure. He emphasizes that the powerful influence of the family is an important

variable to be considered in any kind of treatment program for Latins. He states:

...The Latin family is normally an extended but closed system whose members are highly interdependent for the satisfaction of emotional needs and for providing solutions to problems of intrafamilial living.

Other types of relationships and associations, authors suggest, are patterned on kin relationships. Gil (1976:100), in a discussion of friendship patterns, notes: "The overlapping relationships sometimes lead to the use of kinship as a model for the friend relationship." The tendency toward smaller, more intimate groups related by personal ties is combined with the tendency against larger organizations. Rogg (1974:40-55), for example, discusses Cuban cliques but notes that 93.5% of her sample had no organizational memberships. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:97) observe:

...Relationships of personal trust have two components... kinship...and contract...Either kind of agreement establishes an association of people that is of more importance than are organizations and institutions based on laws, principles, or considerations of efficiency.

Membership in wider associations, MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:99) describe as structured along kin lines where mutual loyalty and obligation is stressed:

Members of a pseudofamilial association have a common material interest...The effectiveness of an association depends on the maintenance of a common loyalty, frequently the subject of impassioned appeals, which is balanced by an equally passionate refusal to recognize interests shared with groups considered to be competitors.

Several writers emphasize that the Cuban family and family values are changing in the United States. Pérez (1980:259) points to signs of disintegration and notes that the Cuban divorce rate for 1960-1970 was 6.2 for every 100 persons while the nation as a whole averaged 5.3 divorces per 100 persons. Szapocznik (1978b:115-118) argues that the acculturation process results in the disruption of the traditionally close-knit Cuban

family. More specifically, he links this to intergenerational differences in the rate of acculturation. Elsewhere, he states (1980:64):

Among Hispanics, the extended family has always been a major strength. Now, however, because of the inter-generational differential rates of acculturation, the extended family has become a liability and a major source of stress and disruption.

Rogg (1974:37) also suggests that higher educational levels are related to a decline in familism.

In summary, it appears that the Cuban version of familism is similar to the basic patterns described for the other Hispanic groups. And like the other groups, Cubans are experiencing changes in family structure and organization in the United States.

(5) *Hispanics*

Statements by writers on other Hispanics groups are largely consistent with the broad outlines of the familism already described for Mexican American, Puerto Rican and Cuban culture. The family and kin relations are of central importance in the lives of Hispanic Americans of diverse origins.

Szalay (1978:viii;35;47;53-68;151-155) repeatedly emphasizes the group orientation, and particularly the family orientation, of Hispanic Americans in the Washington, D.C. area. In his final summary Szalay (1978:153-155) makes the following comments:

...Hispanic Americans, on the other hand, emphasize those aspects of family life which are reciprocal and which permit the participation of all family members, even the very young...all members are full participants in the central values and relationships of the family. (p.153-154)

...Children are taught how to behave with their older and younger siblings and, most importantly, to care for one another. A child is occupied with learning these skills and is not expected to form any attachments outside of the family in early years. (p.155)

Szalay contrasts the up-bringing of Hispanic children which involves

progressive incorporation into the family group, with the up-bringing of Anglo children which involves increasing separation from the family group. Szalay (1978:35) also concludes that Hispanic Americans are more concerned with the extended family than are Anglo Americans and he remarks on the special importance of the relationship with godparents. Since Szalay (1978:155) is basically concerned with issues of mental health, he also notes that Hispanics make less use of social service agencies because (1) these agencies are designed to deal with individuals rather than families, and (2) the Hispanic family is expected to perform many of the services which the agencies offer.

Turner (1980:6), in her review of the literature on Hispanic Americans, also concludes that Hispanic individuals are brought up to identify with the family. This identification, she states, lasts throughout the individual's entire life.

Cohen's (1979:57;86;96-97; 251) account of the lives of Hispanic immigrants in the Washington, D.C. area emphasizes the flexibility of immigrant households and the way kin ties are adapted to the vicissitudes of the immigrants' lives. Kin ties remained important even though many immigrants were unable to migrate in families. Cohen (1978:96-97) observed:

As households became reconstituted in Washington, sets of nuclear and extended households composed of blood relatives and affines (relations by marriage) and connected by ties of propinquity, emerged as highly functional inter-connected structures...Through membership in these inter-related units, the immigrants appear to have heightened their potential to manage the problems of daily living and some of the stresses in their lives.

Cohen (1978:251) argues that the perspective which views familism as an obstacle to upward mobility is erroneous:

...These findings were of interest in the light of some the literature which suggests that "familism" or close kinship attachments among Latinos act as deterrents to mobility and achievement. Mutual help in the family was an important cushioning force which helped the newcomers in this study to settle and to establish new roles in the host society.

Aspects of the Hispanic Relationship to the Wider Society

(1) *Summary*

This section will review material on Hispanic perceptions and attitudes toward the larger society. The focus will be on what social scientists have reported as Hispanic perceptions of Anglo society. We will not examine the complex topic of interethnic relations nor will we examine the larger society's perceptions of Hispanics. Both are beyond the scope of this literature review. The narrower topic of Hispanic perceptions of Anglo society is not one which has received a great deal of research attention. In fact, many authors only mention this topic tangentially or rather casually. Very few authors have set out to systematically ascertain Hispanic perceptions and attitudes toward the larger society.

The predominant picture provided by the literature on Mexican Americans is of a relatively negative perception of Anglo society. Authors tend to emphasize the social distance between Mexican Americans and Anglos. Mexican American attitudes toward Anglo society are described with terms such as "uneasy", "antagonistic" and even "fearful." Anglo society from the Mexican American point of view is often described as something alien, different, cold and hostile.

The literature on Puerto Rican perceptions of Anglo society is somewhat scanty but what little there is suggests a relatively negative perception of North Americans. Social distance is again suggested. Some writers' work seems to suggest that Puerto Ricans are characterized by a rather ambivalent attitude toward Anglo society.

The majority of writers on Cubans emphasize that Cubans generally have a rather positive and favorable perception of Anglo society. The statements regarding Cuban perceptions stand in sharp contrast to the types of statements which authors make regarding Mexican American and Puerto Rican perceptions.

One article does make the point that initially positive attitudes toward society change over time when the Hispanics experience minority status in the United States. Several pieces of research suggest that immigrants are characterized by relatively positive attitudes toward North American society upon arrival in the United States, but that these attitudes change and become more negative and critical over time. Groups and persons whose expectations are frustrated seem to be the most critical; groups and individuals who have experienced upward mobility seem to be the most favorable toward the host society.

(2) *Mexican Americans*

The general picture of Mexican American perceptions of Anglo society provided in the literature is predominantly negative and suggests considerable social distance. Rubel (1970:256) states that Mexican Americans perceive Anglos as a group intent on maintaining Mexican Americans in a subordinate role. Ulibarri (1970:36) claims that Mexican Americans generally have little contact with Anglos and the contacts that they do have are mostly negative. Clark (1959:31) concluded that many Mexican Americans were rather fearful about the outside (beyond the *barrio*) which they perceived as hostile and different. Madsen (1973:32) claimed that the Mexican Americans he studied avoided all unnecessary contacts with Anglos whom they regarded as threatening and incomprehensible. Gonzalez (1967:81) describes the lower-class attitude toward Anglos as "antagonistic." Achor (1978:116-118) asserts that "insulationists" (those who stressed ethnicity and preferred the *barrio*) see the larger city of Dallas as a hostile environment, that they avoid the "cold" Anglo world, and that their perception of Anglo society is basically negative.

More specifically, Simmons (1971:67) elicited the following Mexican American stereotypes about Anglos. On the positive side, Anglos were seen

as having initiative, ambition and industriousness. More negatively, Simmons found that Anglos were perceived as cold, unkind, mercenary, exploitative, stolid, phlegmatic, cold-hearted and distant. Murillo (1976:18-19) also observed that Mexican Americans tend to perceive Anglos as cold, distant, and as lacking in sensitivities. More specifically, Murillo observed that from the Mexican American point of view, Anglo interpersonal communications seem too open, too frank and too direct. He also notes that Mexican Americans view the Anglo style of "kidding" as offensive, depreciating and rude.

Dworkin (1971:75-76) compared the stereotypes of Anglos held by U.S. born Mexican Americans with those held by recent arrivals from Mexico. He found that the recent arrivals generally had a much more positive perception of Anglos than did the Mexican Americans who had been raised in the United States. The foreign born Mexican Americans listed the following traits, in order of frequency, as traits of Anglos: progressive; democratic; proud; friendly; proper and respectable; tall, thin and light complexion; hard-working; clean and neat; education minded; religious; individualistic; and materialistic. The U.S. born Mexican Americans, in contrast, provided the following list: education minded; materialistic; tall, thin and light complexioned; scientific; active in own community; prejudiced; snobbish; having little family loyalty; hypocritical; tense, anxious and neurotic; conformists and puritanical. It is, of course, of interest, that the Mexican Americans who were the most familiar with Anglo society provided the most critical and sometimes disparaging descriptors of Anglos.

Discrimination and racism in the United States appear to have left their mark on Mexican American perceptions of Anglo society. Peñalosa (1970) and Casavantes (1971) discuss the implications of racist attitudes for darker-skinned Mexican Americans.

Several authors comment that Mexican Americans generally find Anglo

social services and governmental agencies rather intimidating and alienating. Aguilar (1979:159) describes the Mexican American perception of legal and governmental agencies as one which views them as something shameful to be involved with. Achor (1978:31) also notes a general skepticism of government, agencies and bureaucrats. Ulibarri (1970:36) claims that Mexican Americans generally tend to rely on their families rather than organizations or governmental agencies for help. He suggests that this may be so in part because of a lack of information about the way organizations function. The work of other authors suggest that there are other factors, such as skepticism and alienation, which account for Mexican American reluctance to utilize social services.

Positive attitudes and perceptions of Anglo society are reported in the literature primarily for the more acculturated/assimilated Mexican Americans, also sometimes identified as the middle-class. The Grebler et al. study (1970:392), which utilized a wide and varied urban sample, concluded that the predominant Mexican American attitude toward Anglos was "quite tolerant." Montenegro (1976:42-44) also found that the subjects who self-identified as Mexican Americans, rather than as Chicanos, were more positively oriented toward Anglo society and less apt to be conscious of discrimination.

The majority of the literature presents a picture, however, of a predominantly negative perception of Anglo society. Comments gleaned from the nine authors cited above regarding Mexican American perceptions of Anglo society range from "uneasy," to "threatening," to "hostile." These negative perceptions of the larger society suggest that there is a considerable social distance between Mexican Americans and the rest of U.S. society. In so far as Mexican Americans continue to feel separated and isolated from the wider society they will continue to operate in terms of "us" and "them." Group identification, then, appears to be partially derived from the more positive

aspects of ethnicity and ethnic identification, and also partially a response to perceptions of the negative implications of minority status in relation to the dominant group.

(3) *Puerto Ricans*

There is relatively little information in the reviewed literature on Puerto Rican perceptions of Anglo society. The relatively small amount of information gleaned from readings suggests that Puerto Ricans have a rather ambivalent attitude toward Anglos; negative perceptions again appear to be dominant.

Fitzpatrick (1971:5) claims that Puerto Ricans generally have a rather negative perception of New York. He states that Puerto Ricans generally perceive New York as impersonal, materialistic and secular; it is seen as an environment which makes difficult the kinds of human relationships characteristic of Puerto Rican culture. Rogler (1972:207) also claims that Puerto Ricans on the mainland feel somewhat estranged from Anglo society. He observes that if their economic situations permitted it, many would prefer to return to the island. He states: "To avail themselves of the opportunities and level of living of a modern, industrial society, they felt they had to sacrifice the rich psychological experience of a more traditional society." Wagenheim (1972:213) also observes that Puerto Ricans generally agree that the North American has a "colder" personality, in part because of their penchant for mechanical communication and their tendency for "going by the book."

Nieves-Falcón (1980:358) discusses a study of 200 Puerto Rican immigrants to the mainland which asked the immigrants to appraise their condition in their adopted society. Only 23.5% thought that they were better off by having come to the mainland, and 32.8% thought they had been better off on the island; 19.5% saw their situations as the same in both places, 16.6% didn't know and 1.6% refused to answer. Nieves-Falcón concludes:

It appears that the dream of individual betterment in the new environment had remained an unattainable one for the majority of the group in question...As part of the poor of this country, their social distance from the haves of the society is increasing rather than diminishing.

On the other hand, a number of authors comment on a general Puerto Rican capacity for a high level of tolerance for those different from themselves. This is discussed with regard to religious tolerance by Landy (1959:41) and others, and is discussed with regard to racial tolerance by Mintz (1966:405-406) and others. Brameld (1959:271, quoted in Mintz, 1966: 419) argues that Puerto Ricans are relativistic in the sense that they are exceptionally tolerant of attitudes and practices different from their own. Brameld even argues that since Puerto Ricans abhor mass violence, they prefer to yield to the pressures of acculturation and assimilation rather than resist. In so far as Puerto Ricans do have this aforementioned tolerance for differences, one can conclude tentatively that this tolerance might conceivably be extended to perceptions of Anglo society as well.

(4) *Cubans*

Cuban perceptions and attitudes toward Anglo society are reported as predominantly positive, although some authors do discuss negative perceptions as well. Cuban perceptions of Anglo society appear to differ significantly from those previously described for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. The rather positive assessment of North American society is linked by most authors to the relatively positive experiences of Cuban immigrants in the United States, an experience which, as stated previously, differs in a number of fundamental ways from the experiences of other Hispanic groups in the country.

One point raised by several authors is that Cubans received a very positive reception in the United States. This again contrasts with the situations of the other Hispanic and most immigrant groups. Portes (1969:507), for example, remarks on the positive reception of Cubans in the United States

which he feels was a consequence of the perceived congruity between the values for which the refugees had left Cuba and the predominantly anti-communist orientation of American culture. Gil (1976:28) also argues that the American middle-class was very favorably inclined toward the Cuban exiles.

Although many authors discuss various problems which Cubans have had in the United States, the overall picture which is presented is one of a relatively high level of adjustment, good relations between Cubans and Anglos, and a relatively favorable attitude toward the host society. For example, although Rogg's (1974:135) book documents problems which Cubans face in the United States, such as occupational adjustment, she concludes that overall Cuban adjustment to the United States is "amazingly good." She also observed (p.79), with regard to West New York, New Jersey, that there were very few tensions between the Cuban and American communities. In a later work, Rogg and Cooney (1980:27) emphasize that Cubans in New Jersey have a great deal of contact with non-Hispanics in work settings where they are exposed to the attitudes and values of the larger American society.

Gil (1976:xi; 103; 187-188) who studied Cubans in Los Angeles, also emphasized that Cubans are not physically or socially isolated from the mainstream of Anglo life. He notes (p.xi): "In fact, the Cuban holds considerable Anglo behavioral patterns, although he may not participate totally in Anglo lifeways." Gil goes on to observe that while Cuban relationships with Anglos tend to be somewhat more detached and formal than Cuban relationships with other Cubans, the general attitude toward Anglos was a positive one:

...I find no data, either statistical or observational, which would have made the Los Angeles Cubans formulate impressions about his Anglo hosts, and his experiences, other than generally favorable. (p.187)

...Consequently, these factors led the Cuban to exhibit virtually no alienation toward his Anglo hosts...Today, Cubans remain optimistic about their relationship with Anglos. (p.188)

Portes (1969), in one of his earlier studies, observed that Cubans came to the United States with relatively low expectations, and hence, seemed relatively satisfied with what they encountered here. While noting that Cubans were not fully integrated in North American society, he also reports a relatively high level of satisfaction with life in this country and an orientation of many toward "American" ways for their children. In one survey of 48 Cuban males, 58% reported themselves as quite satisfied with life in the United States, 31% reported themselves as somewhat satisfied, and only 11% said that they were dissatisfied. Asked about their cultural preferences for their children, 42% stated that they favored an "American" identity and customs, 35% preferred a "Cuban" identity and customs, and 23% stated that they had no preference. In this same article, Portes (1969:511) emphasizes his belief that the cause of non-integration of Cubans "does not lie in any sort of conflict with or hostility toward the host society relationships with which have been uncommonly smooth." Indications of the lack of integration included the large number (73%) who stated that they were less happy now than in Cuba, the relatively large number (58%) who preferred Cuban social contacts to those who preferred American contacts (4%), and the number who maintained a return goal (46%).

In a later study, Portes (1980) conducted a longitudinal study and came up with some findings which demonstrate a more negative perception of Anglo society. In this later study, a large number of Cubans and Mexican Americans were interviewed upon arrival in the United States and then interviewed again three years later. The basic finding of this study was that both the Cuban and the Mexican American arrivals demonstrated a basically favorable attitude toward U.S. society and U.S. race relations, endorsing a view of American society as beneficent and egalitarian. However, after three years in the United States there was a major shift in the attitude and perceptions regarding Anglo society. Portes (1980:210-211) reports that as predicted by his

hypothesis, the greater the knowledge of English and the more informed the immigrants were about the United States, the more critical were their perceptions of U.S. society and of perceptions of discrimination against their own ethnic group. He states (p.219-220):

Immigrants tend to be more critical of U.S. society and to perceive greater discrimination against their own group, the better their economic position, the greater their knowledge of English, and the stronger their endorsement of modern values.

...We find it particularly noteworthy that the better immigrants understand the host country language and the more they endorse its values (as embodied in the concept of modernity), the more skeptical they are of the realities of that society and of their actual condition within it. The socialization process suggested by these findings is not one that necessarily leads to integration and consensus-building, but one which can produce an increased awareness of an inferior economic and social position and, hence, a defense of common interests through ethnic solidarity.

This study is similar to Dworkin's (1971) research into the difference in attitudes and stereotypes between new arrivals and Mexican Americans raised in the United States. He too found a much more optimistic assessment upon arrival and more negative feelings for those who had spent considerable time in this country.

The pattern of these findings suggest that positive perceptions of the United States often characterize new immigrants, negative perceptions characterize those who actually live in the United States and find that it does not live up to original expectations, and positive sentiments again characterize those who experience some upward mobility and/or economic success in this country. Since Cubans as a group have experienced more economic success than most other Hispanic groups, it is not surprising that the majority of studies state that they manifest predominantly positive attitudes toward Anglos and Anglo society.

(5) *Hispanics*

There was little mention of attitudes toward the larger society in the literature reviewed on other Hispanic groups in the United States. Cohen (1979:256) does make two points which are relevant to the topic of the perception of the dominant society.

One point made by Cohen is that many of the Hispanic immigrants to the Washington D.C. area felt that they were subject to incorrect stereotypes from Anglo society in general and their employers in particular.

...Some of these workers believed, however, that the reputed endurance of Latinos for hard work received only limited reward and little public attention. It seemed to them as if, in taking the lowest-ranking jobs, which were no longer filled by low-income Anglos or Blacks, Latinos were being subjected to the negative attitudes previously shown to other minorities.

A second point which Cohen makes regarding Hispanic perceptions of Anglos has to do with the distinction between employers who treated their employees well, with consideration and respect, and employers who treated their employees badly and who showed little consideration or respect for the Hispanic immigrants. It might be expected that these two factors, stereotypes encountered about the nature of Hispanic workers and the treatment which workers received in their jobs, would be influential in determining immigrants' perceptions of the host society.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATIONS

Introduction

Cultures differ in the ways in which they organize social categories and the ways in which they assign individuals to various categories. Cultures also vary in terms of the amount of attention which they pay to different types of individual characteristics. That is, members of societies pay different amounts of attention to different attributes of other members of their society. Some common characteristics used in social differentiation include color or race, age, sex, tribe, language, caste, social class, religion and family. All cultures recognize both ascribed and achieved characteristics although clearly not to the same degree. A hunting and gathering society is organized primarily along lines of ascribed statuses, however, a man can still achieve distinction for achievements in hunting or dispute settling. We like to think of American society as one which pays attention primarily to achieved characteristics, yet ascribed characteristics such as sex continue to play a role in our social differentiations.

Some societies make extremely clear cut and rather rigid distinctions which tend to dichotomize or polarize qualities. Some examples of this include cultures which view men as very different from women, blacks as very different from whites, high status persons as very different from low status persons, and so on. An extreme example of a culture which polarizes qualities is India where members of different castes are perceived as inherently different from each other. In cultures which tend to polarize strongly there is little tendency to perceive the shades of grey along a continuum from black to white. Others are perceived as either good or evil, pure or defiled, respected or disrespected, or as honorable or dishonorable.

Almost all societies seem to have a tendency to polarize their social differentiations on at least one if not more dimensions. For example,

differentiation by race is important in South Africa and the United States. Differentiation by age is important in most traditional societies, such as India. Sex role differentiation is pronounced in many cultures, for example in Japan, the Mediterranean and Latin American countries. Social class plays an important role in many cultures. Language is important for social differentiation in Canada, Belgium, India and elsewhere. Tribal affiliation is a critical aspect of social differentiation in many parts of Africa. Religion is important in most Islamic countries.

The following section will examine what social scientists have observed about social differentiations made in the Hispanic sub-cultures in the United States. The content analysis focused on the following dimensions: sex, age, race, language, religion, family, and power distance which refers to status. Generally the literature concurred in providing a picture of Hispanic culture as emphasizing social differentiation by family, power distance, age and sex. The importance of the family and the pattern of familism has already been discussed in another section in terms of identification. Family identification and the evaluation of others in terms of their familial affiliation was repeatedly stressed in the literature. The formation of the most powerful in-group as kin based and the concomitant tendency to assign others to the out-group was also previously discussed. Hence, we will not repeat here a review of the material on the family, but rather this section will concentrate on presenting material relating to the remaining dimensions of power distance, sex, age, and race.

Power Distance

Introduction and Summary

As Hofstede (1980:92-93) has pointed out, different societies have found different solutions or arrangements regarding the basic issue of human inequality. He observes that there are three areas of status inequality: prestige, wealth, and power. Although these three variables are often highly correlated, in some cases status may be based on only one. For example, Indian holy men who beg for alms have primarily prestige status; the *nouveaux riche* may have wealth but generally lack prestige and certain kinds of power.

The term power distance refers to the level of importance which a culture assigns to differentiation by status. Status is used in the broadest sense to refer to differences in prestige, wealth and power, and to refer to the differences in the statuses of both groups and individuals. Employed in this way, the term power distance subsumes the concept of social class and other stratification systems. Power distance on the societal level refers to the rigidity of the stratification system; societies in which social, economic and political distance separates castes or classes of people and in which these demarcated groups are seen as very different from each other can be said to be characterized by high power distance. Another way of stating this would be to say that the "haves" are viewed as qualitatively different from the "have-nots" and visa versa.

Hofstede (1980:97) makes the important point that both the more dominant group and the subordinate group participate in a system of values which justify the system as a whole. In reference to organizations he states: "Differences in the exercise of power in a hierarchy relate to the value systems of both bosses *and* subordinates and not to the values of the bosses only, even though they are the more powerful partners" (*italics the author's*).

What Hofstede appears to be saying is not that the subordinates cause their own subordination but rather that as participants in a cultural system they tend to see that system as normal and natural. The world view of people who live in highly stratified societies usually includes an explicit or implicit assumption about the naturalness of hierarchical structures and this assumption is shared by people at different levels of the hierarchy. Hofstede (1980:98) himself measured power distance by questions designed to tap the perceptions of subordinates with regard to the differential interpersonal power or influence between superiors and subordinates. He claims that the measure of power distance is taken from the point of view of the least powerful.

Cultures with high power distance tend to emphasize social differentiation by status. On an individual level this means that people pay a great deal of attention to the status of the others with whom they are interacting. A good deal of energy is devoted to socializing children to be able to make accurate status evaluations of persons with whom they are interacting and to train them to act accordingly.

Hofstede's (1980:104) study found the most power distance in the Philippines and in Latin America. Italy and the United States are examples of countries which ranked in the middle range for power distance. The lowest level of power distance was found in Austria and the Scandinavian countries.

The high power distance score for Latin American countries leads one to hypothesize that high power distance would be characteristic for Hispanic sub-cultures in the United States. The literature generally supports this supposition.

One aspect of high power distance is social stratification. Summarizing the points raised for all the Hispanic groups, we see that they share the Spanish colonial heritage of fairly rigid class distinctions. Social class

and differences by social class continue to be important among Hispanics up to the present day. The theme of an acceptance of a stratified and hierarchical society is mentioned repeatedly in the literature on all the Hispanic groups. This acceptance of hierarchy is moderated by a belief or faith in the possibility of upward mobility.

Training for high power distance starts with the socialization of children. Summarizing the patterns described for all Hispanic groups, we see a common emphasis on respect and obedience to parents, elders and social superiors. The teaching of patterns of deference and respect according to social status distinctions is described for all groups, particularly in the literature on Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Children learn to be sensitive to status distinctions and how to behave accordingly. Individuals learn how to behave in accordance with their "place" or station in life. The importance of these norms are further highlighted by the great concern of Hispanic American parents with the general breakdown of "discipline" among the young.

The enculturation process lays the foundation for the "educated" or properly socialized adult. Two key concepts which are discussed in this section are respect and dignity; these are common themes throughout the literature. Persons learn how much respect they can expect from others and how much respect is due to others. Respect patterns in Hispanic interpersonal relations serve to distinguish various kinds of social status distinctions and to maintain social distance. Dignity refers to the innate worth and self-respect of each individual. All persons are entitled to dignity and the respect which comes with it. Dignity, or self-respect must be validated by others in one's social environment. Therefore, Hispanics are generally described as very sensitive to their social environments and in particular as sensitive to criticism and/or insults which are interpreted as assaults on the whole person.

Social differentiation by status is also reflected in language. The system of honorific titles of donship is described for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Spanish also contains both an informal and formal pronoun for address which reflect varying amounts of respect and social distance.

Another theme which runs through the literature is the emphasis on harmony, tact and diplomacy in interpersonal relations. Disrespectful conduct, such as open conflict or blunt criticism, is avoided. The emphasis on harmony and politeness functions to help maintain each individual's dignity. It also functions to maintain social distance and to smooth over discrepancies generated by a highly stratified social structure.

The theme of the essential dignity of each person can be seen to relate to the Hispanic concept of the individual as unique and essentially worthy. The cultural emphasis on individual dignity and honor can be viewed as a system of social differentiation by prestige which is available to all. The concept of *dignidad* receives the most elaboration in the literature on Puerto Rican culture. Since self-respect is linked to the good opinions of others, the Hispanic concern for good appearances in public seems linked to social differentiation by status.

In summary, the Hispanic concepts of *respeto* (respect) and *dignidad* are essential to an understanding of Hispanic interpersonal relations. On one level they reflect status differentials, such as the respect accorded social superiors. On another level, they function in an equalitarian fashion because all persons are entitled to dignity and respect regardless of socio-economic position. Self-respect is essentially a social process since it requires continual validation from others. Others who do not affirm one's dignity by acting with the proper amount of respect are perceived negatively. There seems to be a high degree of similarity of these points for all of the Hispanic groups.

The Hispanic emphasis on verbal articulateness and the verbal contest known as verbal dueling are discussed as aspects of power distance. On one level the emphasis on verbal articulateness probably serves to reinforce class distinctions since the educated classes will have more access to rhetorical training and will tend to speak differently from humbler people. On another level, the emphasis on verbal articulateness is common to all classes of people and serves as a method of accruing prestige. Verbal dueling, also seemingly characteristic of all Hispanic groups, seems to function as a mechanism for equillitarianism and as a mechanism by which status differentials are manipulated.

Lastly, the concept of *liderismo*, or personal leadership, is common to all Hispanic groups. While respect for authority is a common theme in the literature, an antipathy and rebelliousness against authority is also mentioned by numerous authors, particularly those writing on Mexican Americans and Cubans.

Discussion of Power Distance

Historical material provides a consistent picture of Spanish colonial society as a rigidly stratified class system which some have characterized as near feudal or as a caste society. The Hispanic legacy was basically a two class system of an elite which had privilege, prestige, power and wealth, and the masses who did not. Components of the Hispanic ethos in Latin America, according to Gillin (1965:503-516), supported this sociocultural system. Three components identified by Gillin can be viewed as the philosophical underpinnings of high power distance. First, there is the Hispanic concept of the individual. The Latin notion of the value of the individual is based on the concept of each individual as worthy because of a unique inner quality. Contrary to the North American concept of the individual as worthy of respect because he is "just as good as the next person," the

Hispanic concept does *not* emphasize equality. A person is valued precisely because he is not the same as everyone else.

A second component identified by Gillin is an acceptance of social inequality. Conceptions of hierarchy and social classes are universally recognized and accepted as normal and natural. Gillin states (1965:512): "Yet, he as an individual with a soul...does not have to pay too much attention to the unfair distribution of rights and privileges which the social system imposes upon him." The Hispanic concept of the individual and the acceptance of social inequality do not contradict each other. Another aspect, frequently overlooked, of the acceptance of hierarchy is the consciousness of the possibilities of upward mobility in the system. Whereas this possibility may be relatively remote, it exists and lends flexibility to the rigidity of the system and makes acceptance of one's position in the social order somewhat easier to bear. Hence, acceptance of hierarchy is combined with a belief in the possibility of betterment.

Lastly, Gillin describes the component which he calls the idealistic or transcendent world view which de-emphasizes pragmatic, material or utilitarian considerations. Words and concepts, he notes, have a higher value than things, and a basic goal of the culture is the realization of the potentials of each individual's soul. This transcendent view, which emphasizes a satisfying contact with something beyond this life or mundane existence, can be seen as supportive of the system of unequal distribution of the things of this life.

The legacy of the Spanish colonial heritage in terms of class structure is documented for both post-colonial Mexico and the early Mexican settlements in the Southwestern United States. Gonzalez (1967:76) notes that a two class system characterized New Mexico previous to annexation by the United States. Berk-Seligson (1980:71) describes the social system of the early Southwest as a rather rigid caste system. Grebler et al. (1970:320-321) note that

historically, the Hispanic group's hierarchy was quite rigid and based on blood lines and that the traditional class system was most elaborated in New Mexico. They also note that Mexican immigrants to the United States in the 1920s came from a Mexico with a rigid, near feudal class division.

Numerous authors observe that social class distinctions continue to be extremely important within Mexican American culture and society. Grebler et al. (1970:324), while noting that a strong separation between the upper and lower classes of Mexican Americans was the case traditionally, go on to say that social class was a major differentiating factor within the group at present.

Clark (1959:16-19), in her study of Mexican Americans in San José, California, emphasizes the importance of social class cleavages within the group. She notes a tendency of people to not associate with those considered to be below them, and a tendency to be jealous and resentful of those considered to be above them. Social distance is illustrated by Clark's observation that the better-off Mexican Americans were admired but often thought of as traitors to the group, and that the others attributed their success to luck. The upper-class view of those below them, she reports as one which held that the majority of Mexican Americans were lower-class because they were lazy and did not value education and getting ahead.

Madsen (1973) also reports extensively on social class distinctions among Mexican Americans in Texas. The lower-classes, he reports (p. 33-34), were not particularly preoccupied with changing their role or class, but rather emphasized the fulfillment and enjoyment of their God-given roles in life. This statement suggests acceptance of the hierarchy. He also notes (p. 38) a middle-class preoccupation with trying to behave like the upper-classes, for example, in the careful disdain of manual labor. He describes the upper-classes in terms reminiscent of the Hispanic colonial elite. They (p. 44) saw themselves, he states, as an exclusive group descended from the

Spanish land grant families; they were clannish, associating mainly with each other, and tried to be "gentlemen who hold to the old European tradition that wealth itself is meaningless unless it is accompanied by an honorable family tree and the refinements of a 'cultured' life."

Puerto Rico was also part of the Spanish colonial empire which bequeathed to the island a rigidly stratified class system. Mintz (1966:371) states: "from its beginnings as a New World colony of Spain, the island has always had a stratified and heterogeneous social structure." Steward (1956:470-487), in his review of the history of Puerto Rico, makes the point that the early colonial, pre-industrial Puerto Rico was essentially divided into a ruling or upper-class group and a labor supply: "The ruling group and the laborers held differing status and power positions, thus constituting a basic two-class system." He observes that many of the so-called traditional traits of the Hispanic heritage, such as the emphasis on gracious living, the spiritual and the poetic, were in actuality upper-class patterns. Padilla (1956:289), Wolf (1956:235-236), Manners (1956:114-115) and Wells (1969:45-47) all reiterate the point that the 19th century traditional *hacienda* (plantation) system in Puerto Rico was basically a two-class system.

Wells (1969:45-47) observes that the *hacienda* system, like the traditional family, inculcated values which emphasized respect and power values that focused on submission to personal authority. Manners (1956:114-115) describes the 19th century patron-client relationships between landowners and tenants; he notes that many traces of these traditional relationships between the classes could be observed in the community which he studied in the late 1940s. He refers in particular to the attitude of respect, almost a form of subservience, which could be seen in the behavior of the older farmers toward their social superiors. Wolf (1956:235-236) also describes the cultural ideals which survived from the *hacienda* system. He notes that there were culturally stipulated ideals for the behavior of landowners and

workers. "Good" landowners were supposed to behave as patrons, to respect the workers and grant them special favors. "Good" workers were supposed to show a great deal of deference to social superiors, to be trustworthy, and to make their behavior neither insolent nor servile.

There is a great deal of evidence that while the hierarchical and authoritarian relationships of the older *hacienda* system have largely been destroyed (Steward, 1956:487), social class differences continue to be strong and important. Rogler (1972:202) notes, for example, that Puerto Ricans come from a socially stratified society in which talk about social class is open, public and uninhibited. Padilla (1964/1958:27-28) stressed the importance of social class which she states is even more important than ethnic identification in New York. Mintz (1966:372-375) notes that there are two primary and significant social distinctions in Puerto Rican life: race and social class. Mintz's (1966:391) conclusions based on his literature review were:

The Puerto Rican world seems basically determinate. Class roles are well defined, and while a person's class may vary with his wealth, there is little ambiguity about what kinds of behavior a particular status demands. This may be breaking down now...But basically the Puerto Ricans seem to want an orderly world in which behavior is regulated by social norms.

Landy (1959:48-51) also elaborates on the importance of social class and the correct forms of behavior between the classes:

As in all stratified societies, social class functions in Valle Cafia as a set of reciprocating responsibilities and expectations. Upper-class people are expected to be "serious" and use conduct deserving of the respect of the subordinate groups. They are never expected to perform manual labor, but they are expected to consume conspicuously as befits their wealth and station. In reciprocation, the upper-class person is expected to treat his inferiors with a degree of respect, to exercise his authority, though not harshly, and to provide as much work as possible for them...Lower-class behavior is founded on three virtues: respect, humility and service. These are expected and usually characterize the behavior of the lower-class individual in his relations with the superordinate classes.

The middle-class person, Landy goes on to say, is expected to show respect to

upper-class persons but rarely associates with either the upper- or lower-class. The perpetuation of *hacienda* type patterns is described also by Seda (1973:171) in his book on a rural island community: "the failure of the Land Reform in Tipán can be attributed to the survival of the paternalistic-personalistic normative patterns." Safa (1974:64) also discusses the importance of social class considerations in her study of a Puerto Rican shantytown; she observes that shantytown people rarely crossed class lines for anything.

An acceptance of social hierarchy also seems to be embedded in Puerto Rican culture. Wagenheim (1972:210), for example, notes that a typical Puerto Rican adult has been raised in a traditional, firmly structured world, based on respect for a supreme being, the hierarchy of the community and for parents. Promises of life after death, an established order among living men and a tacit recognition that each man has "his place" in the system contribute to this sense of a hierarchically structured world. Wagenheim further notes that Catholic dogma supports this notion of the universe. Wells (1969:23) claims that a fundamental premise of Puerto Rican culture is "the belief that society, like the Church, is naturally hierarchical and that one's place in the social pyramid depends mainly on the stratum to which birth consigns one. Every person in the traditional culture tends to accept his station in life. Inherited or ascribed social superiority and inferiority are among the unalterable facts of human existence."

Fitzpatrick (1971:92) also described the Puerto Rican sense of the appropriateness of hierarchy which he says is a result of the previous two-class system. Mintz (1966:371) also notes that a value statement which finds much support in the literature is that Puerto Ricans have an "underlying acceptance of a stratified society, with behavioral accompaniments attuned to near-automatic deference on the one hand, and the unchallenged exercise of authority on the other." Mintz's (1966:398) literature review also observes

that dominance rather than equality seems to be the major value orientation with regard to power evaluation. He notes that power over people is a dominant preoccupation in any kind of social interaction.

Tumin's (1971:164-166) observations support Gillin's observation that while Latins accept hierarchy, they also believe in the permeability of the social structure:

...There is a very high morale in all segments of the Puerto Rican community. The present inequalities are not perceived as insuperable obstacles. The social order is viewed as a fair and reasonable arrangement.

...In short, this is not a caste society where one accepts his relatively degraded and unyielding position as a fact of life not subject to alteration. There is here none of the fatalism about inherited social position.

Historical materials on Cuba indicate that it too was characterized by the already described class system during the colonial period, and that this heritage persisted up to the revolution. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:38) discuss the legacy of Spanish colonial rule:

...Socially, class differences were expressed in forms largely derived from Spanish tradition, which emphasized the superiority of the educated over the uneducated, and by certain kinds of ostentatious refinement. Responsible people (*los hombres responsables* or *los dirigentes*) and people of culture were phrases equivalent to upper class. References were made to the "conservative classes," contrasting them with the "popular classes" (*las clases más humildes* or *populares*).

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:xix-xx; 38-39;46) provide a relatively detailed account of pre-revolutionary class structure. They describe it as basically a two-class system with an elite upper-class and a large lower-class. The middle-class in pre-revolutionary Cuba, they state, existed but was not an integrated and self-conscious group analogous to a class. They provide a detailed description of the upper-class:

The upper class as a whole played the part of patron to the lower class. It was distinguished by its self-conscious avoidance of manual labor, its ostentatiously urbane standard of living, and its education...Most of those able to obtain higher education came from upper-class families. (p.xix)

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:46) note that the typical institutions of the Cuban upper-class were the country club and the yacht club. They also note how the upper-class was strongly associated with the Catholic Church. The Cuban upper-class, similar to the Puerto Rican upper-class, maintained a tradition of *noblesse oblige* in their attitude toward the poor:

...The rich recognized an obligation, social as much as religious, to make charitable gifts to the poor; such giving was done publicly, emphasizing the difference in status between donor and recipient. (p. 39)

Members of the middle-class, according to MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:42), tried very hard to imitate and come up to the standards of living and behavior of the upper-class.

Moreno (1971:474-475) describes pre-revolutionary Cuban society in similar terms: "The only relationship that existed between the poor and the rich were those of a hierarchical subordination of the former to the latter." Moreno stresses that pre-revolutionary Cuban society was a highly unequal one where the rich enjoyed many privileges and the poor were truly "dispossessed." He goes on to say that the middle-class tried to emulate the upper-class, and he stresses the disdain for any kind of manual labor:

...The white-collar mentality was a product of the old, traditional value: "Don't work with your hands if you can work with your mind." Many petite bourgeoisie who could not enter the bureaucracy or get a white-collar job, would rather set up a stand to sell candy, coffee, refreshments, cigarettes, or toothbrushes than take a menial job as a dish-washer or as a janitor. (p. 484)

Pérez (1980:258) also emphasizes the importance of social class considerations in pre-revolutionary Cuban society and he makes the point that family background was an important determinant of social class standing rather than income or achievement as in the United States. Exile, according to Pérez, has undermined some of the importance of family background and contributed to a loss of status as well as wealth. Upper-class patterns, however, continue to be an ideal for the upwardly mobile.

Social class continues to be an important consideration for Cubans in the United States, especially since many of the first waves lost prestige, status and wealth by emigrating. Rogg's (1974:136-137) work among Cubans in West New York, New Jersey, emphasizes the importance of class differences among the refugees and the implications of social class for acculturation and adjustment to the United States.

A number of authors discuss an acceptance of hierarchy as a component in the Cuban value system. Szapocznik (1980:66, 1978a:965, 1978b:114), who has conducted research in the Miami area, repeatedly emphasizes that Cubans prefer "lineal relationships based on hierarchical or vertical structures." MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:96) also point to an acceptance of hierarchy and personal leadership. Moreno (1971:471-472) says that a hierarchical conception of society was central to the matrix of traditional Cuban values:

A firm belief that each man occupied a position in society according to a set of characteristics that were often beyond his control seemed to justify the lack of mobility in a system in which opportunities were unevenly distributed...

Moreno goes on to discuss how the goals and values of the revolution were diametrically opposed to these traditional Cuban values.

With regard to other Hispanic Americans, Szalay (1978:94-97) also makes a point about the acceptance of hierarchy and authority. He observes that in his word association data, the Anglo Americans placed somewhat more emphasis on the notion of equality as a social value than did the Hispanics. He also makes the following observation about the Hispanic view: "Unlike the Anglo American view, authority in and of itself is not seen as bad or to be rebelled against."

Summarizing the points raised for all the Hispanic groups, we see that they share a historical background of fairly rigid class distinctions from the Spanish colonial era. Social class distinctions continue to exist among these groups up to the present day. The...

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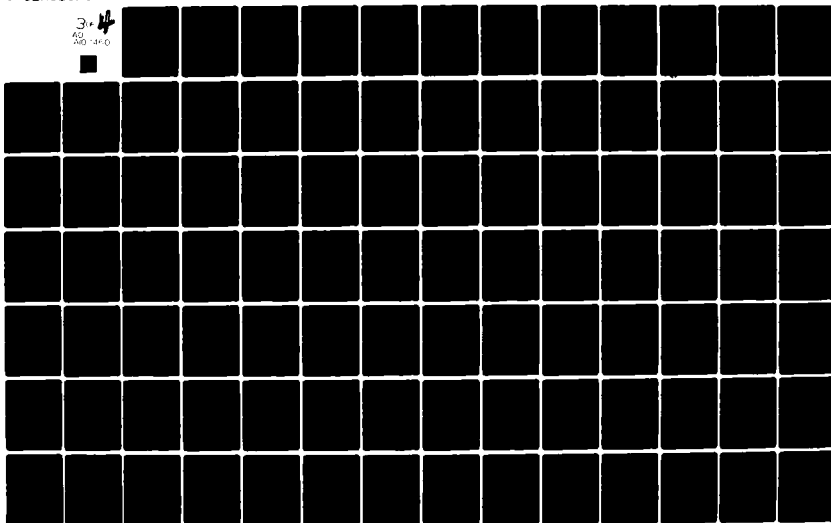
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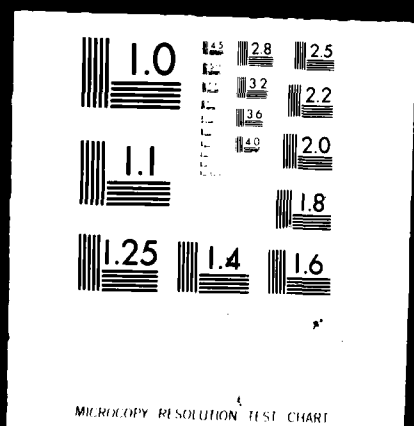
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stratified and hierarchical society is repeated throughout the literature. This acceptance of hierarchy is combined with a belief or faith in the possibility of upward social mobility.

It is only logical that training for high power distance starts with the young. Many aspects of socialization described in the literature, such as deference training, are suggestive of a cultural emphasis on great sensitivity to status distinctions.

Twelve authors on Mexican Americans discuss aspects of child-raising and socialization that appear to be linked to high power distance. Mead (1953:191), Madsen (1973:50), and Jaworski (1977:8) discuss how children learn early to accept hierarchy within the family context. One of the most important lessons that children learn, according to the literature, is that they must obey their parents, and by extension, all "authorities" and social superiors. Tuck (1974/1946:123-124), an early writer on Mexican Americans, emphasized that children are expected to give obedience and respect not only to parents but to all adults in the family. Burma (1970:23) also notes that family training emphasizes respectful conduct and obedience. Kagan (1977:77), in his review of the literature, notes that many researchers stressed that obedience and respect are the most important virtues that children learn.

Murillo (1976:22) claims that parents strive to inculcate good manners and respect for parents and authority figures. Heller (1968:37) also observed an emphasis on respect, obedience, and humility to parents and elders which she labels as courtesy. Mead (1953:172-173) observed that children were taught to feel shame and be modest, and to not push themselves forward; she also notes that they learn that it is better to "behave" than to oppose one's parents. Goodman and Beman (1968:95), in their essay "A Child's Eye View of the Barrio," report that for children "badness" was defined as disobedience and "talking back" to elders. Achor (1978:79) reports that her Dallas

informants' definition of a "good child" was one who did not talk back or act bad.

Children learn early that they owe obedience and respect to their parents, elders and other superiors. Showing respect includes patterns of deference. Rubel (1970:212-214), for example, describes how respect for elders is a major organizing principle of Mexican American culture. He claims that children are taught to obey their fathers unquestioningly. To question authority would be to show disrespect. He also notes that playful interaction patterns are avoided because they are not thought to be conducive to respect. Madsen (1973:54) also notes that children are trained to avoid frivolous behavior (disrespectful) in the presence of their parents and elders. He states that as soon as children cease being infants they begin to learn about respect and the proper ways to behave. Deference patterns require that a certain social distance be maintained in interpersonal relationships since questioning authority and playful and intimate behavior are considered undermining to proper respect. Since the father of the Mexican American family is considered to be the primary authority he receives more respect from his children than does the mother who stands in a more intimate relationship to the children. These observations are generally supported by the literature and are illustrated by the findings of Martinez (1977:29-40) who used the Semantic Differential Test to explore the meanings of the words "Mother" and "Father" to Mexican Americans. His data show "Father" as ranked highest on potency (power) and described as "hard, strong, tenacious and severe"; "Mother" was seen as better, kinder and more beautiful. Respect relationships, particularly between the males in a family, seem to generate formality, deference and social distance.

The emphasis on obedience and respectful behavior is generally referred to by Mexican Americans as discipline and decorum. The goal of inculcating discipline in children is mentioned in the literature not only for traditional

Mexican Americans, but also as a focal concern of more acculturated Mexican Americans. The Grebler et al. (1970:367) study, which was conducted on a large and varied urban sample, expressed surprise to find that the majority of parents still stressed child discipline as their number one concern. By discipline, the informants meant a child who is the model of respect, who knows his place, and knows how to act with proper deference and attention to social status distinctions.

Similar types of statements about child socialization are common in the literature on Puerto Ricans. Again we find that one of the most important lessons which children should learn is that they must obey and respect their parents, elders, and authorities. Ortiz (1974:141-145) mentions "respect for parents" as one of the most common themes of scientific and literary works on Puerto Rican culture. Wells (1969:43-44) notes that in the traditional family the chief object of child training is to inculcate patterns of attitudes and behaviors consistent with the most important of all values, respect. He goes on to say that there is a clear distinction between children and parents, and that children must obey their parents. Manners (1956:146) observed that parents used the harshest discipline for the teaching of obedience and personal honesty. Mintz (1966:412-414) observes that: "In all classes obedience and *respeto* are the most prized qualities in children." Mintz also notes that as soon as children begin to talk they become subject to these demands for obedience and respect. He further notes: "The social distance between a man and his children was extreme. It was almost impossible to bridge the gap."

Other authors also report on the central importance of children learning to be obedient and respectful. Diaz-Royo (1974:190;198) made the following observations in a traditional highland community:

...Children are expected to *comportarse como niños* (behave like children), and to follow strictly the rules of interaction with adults even when these adults are their parents or other relatives. (p. 190)

Obediencia (obedience) was a recurrent theme in parents' conversation about child rearing...There was a firm belief that parents ought to control and shape children's lives and that this effect could be accomplished through the instillment of *obediencia*. (p. 198)

Safa (1974:56) also observed that respect was a very important element in the parent-child relationship in the shantytown which she studied. Respect was shown by children by not passing in front of adults, by not interrupting and in unquestioning obedience to adults. Seda (1958:77) makes a similar observation: "The child was expected to be quiet in front of adults and more than anything else to be obedient to parents and older people." Padilla (1964/1958:149), in her study of New York Puerto Ricans, reports that the definition of the "good child" was one who was very respectful. She also notes (p. 170) that: "A good father expresses his love for his children by his control over their conduct and by presenting them with an example of a good man." "Good" children, she reiterates (p.181), were obedient, respectful and docile. Ross (1977:7) also observes that Puerto Rican children are socialized to show respect, dependence and obedience to their parents. In contrast with Anglo children, she claims that Puerto Rican children show respect to adults by being quiet, shy and non-participating in social situations. Padilla (1964/1958:206) also notes that this type of respectful behavior on the part of children was somewhat disconcerting to Anglo school teachers.

Landy (1959:120-124) also reports: "The good child in Valle Caña is first of all the obedient child, and parents are generally insistent and vehement about it." He notes that parents encourage obedience, and acting with humility and shame, and that the goal is to have children who are quiet, meek, humble and respectful. He further states (p. 234): "Unquestioning obedience is expected and demanded of children by their parents and elders."

In a later community study by Seda (1973:34) he reports that his informants also placed a clear emphasis on obedience as a desirable trait in children.

A number of authors also comment on the fact that Puerto Rican parents strictly limit the aggressive behavior of their children, both inside and outside the family context. Landy (1959:114) states that adults fear the social consequences of aggression and discourage it in children; he attributes this to the punishing effects in the culture for interpersonal aggression. Mintz observes (1966:413): "In all classes, it also seems that aggression is strongly repressed."

The demands for respect and obedience from children creates a certain social distance between parents and children, a distance which is considered culturally desirable. Mintz (1966:414), quoting Seda, notes that parents do not believe in letting their children argue with them because this will cause a loss of respect. Landy (1959:124) claims that Puerto Rican parents avoid praising their children because they think that this results in a familiarity which would decrease respect. The social distance between fathers and their children has already been remarked upon.

The disciplining of children (inculcating respect and obedience) is often referred to in the literature as a primary concern of parents. Changes in this sphere are a particular concern. Seda (1973:78) notes a regret for change: "Our informants seemed to agree that in the past, children had been strictly disciplined, and that the slightest disobedience had brought about a severe punishment."

Similar to what was described for Mexican Americans, the home socialization with its emphasis on respect, cultivates an increased sensitivity to social status distinctions in general. Children learn to apply the behavioral rules learned at home to the outside world. Padilla (1964/1958:177-178) reports:

As a child who is poor, he will find that he is not entitled to respect from others, but as he grows older he is due the respect which age bestows upon him and which he must expect and claim from others. A person of respect is a person of dignity, and it is thus of the highest importance that an individual first learn what it means to respect so he can require whatever respect is due him, according to his age and station in life. The way the system works an adult still owes respect to those in a higher social position or with greater social power than he and to those who are older than he, but if he is poor, younger folks who are more affluent will also expect deference from him.

The basic concept of respect which is learned at home involves the limits and freedom allowed the individual in his relationship with others (Padilla, 1964/1958:177).

Landy (1959:51) too observed that home socialization prepares the child to be properly sensitive to distinctions of social class: "From birth the child is inculcated with the expectations and duties of his parents' class... The teaching of his class function is an important aspect of the socialization of the Vallecanaese child." Padilla (1956:292), in her study of an island community, also notes that home socialization prepares a child for proper and conventional behavior toward persons of different roles and statuses by inculcating the concepts of respect and shame.

There is less detailed material on Cuban American socialization of the young. The themes of discipline, obedience and respect do appear in the literature. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:55) state: "Children are required by law to respect and aid their parents and are customarily regarded as under parental tutelage until they marry."

The dominant theme on this topic in the literature on Cubans in the United States is the high level of concern of Cuban parents over the breakdown of such discipline. Gil (1976:230) states that Cuban parents insist on "familism and discipline" as a way of maintaining their cultural distinctiveness in the United States. However, a number of authors report that Cuban "children" are increasingly resisting this type of discipline. Rogg

(1974:73-75) reports extensively on how upsetting it is to Cuban parents to perceive that they are losing control over their second generation children. She observes that because many Cuban American mothers must leave home to work, it is increasingly impossible to shelter children in the way that it was done traditionally in Cuba. Added to this are the assimilative pressures which children experience outside the home. Rogg describes how many Cuban second generation children become alienated from their parents, although she notes (p.134) that because of "respect" the children often try to conceal such conflicts from their parents. The two major areas of problems which Cubans experience in the United States, according to Rogg (1974:135) are: (1) family relationships, especially because of working wives and more independent children, and (2) occupational adjustment.

A follow-up study of the same community by Rogg and Cooney (1980:4) again reiterates that there are increasing problems in Cuban families because the parents feel threatened when their authority is undermined and their values labelled old-fashioned by their children. Rogg and Cooney (p. 29) conclude: "Cuban parents remain worried about their children adopting American ways of life." Central to this concern is the decreasing level of discipline, obedience and respect.

The hierarchical structure of the traditional Cuban family is discussed by Szapocznik (1978a:116-117) who seems to view it as a prototype of this preference for hierarchical lineality in Cuban culture. Pérez (1980:259-260) also makes a point about the importance of discipline to Cuban parents, noting that in the Miami area the schools run by Cubans maintain "strict discipline" and adhere to traditional values. This again demonstrates the intense concern of Cuban parents with the breakdown of this discipline in the U.S. context.

With regard to other Hispanics, Cohen (1979:228) also emphasizes the importance which Latino parents give to socializing their children to behave

properly: "In the process of socializing their sons and daughters, Latino parents place priority on teaching children proper conduct through emphasis on the containment of feelings."

In summarizing the common themes for the various Hispanic groups, we see a consistent pattern of child socialization which emphasizes respect and obedience to parents, elders and social superiors. Deference and proper conduct according to social status distinctions are described for all the groups, particularly for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. The norms for proper conduct and a sensitivity to status distinctions are learned in the home and then applied to situations outside the home. It is a system of behavior which acknowledges the hierarchical structure of society and which dictates patterns of expected deference and courtesy which reinforce status differentials. Individuals learn how to behave in accordance with their "place" or station in life. It is, of course, only logical that such profoundly important values and norms are taught first in the family. The centrality and importance of these norms are further highlighted by the great concern and frustration of Hispanic parents when their children do not conform to these cultural patterns.

The enculturation process lays the foundation for the "educated" or properly socialized adult. The key concepts for understanding Hispanic social relations are the related concepts of respect and dignity. These concepts will appear repeatedly in the following sections. If one had to choose one word which summarized the nature of Hispanic social relations, respect (*respeto*) would be that key word. Part of the meaning of respect in Hispanic culture has to do with perceiving, evaluating and acting according to social status distinctions. Distinctions by age, sex, social class, wealth, prestige, special learning and other categories are accorded a great deal of attention in Hispanic culture. Social status differentials are marked by respect patterns. Respect patterns engender social distance between parties

who are unequal in some way. Understanding the appropriate giving and receiving of respect is vital to the comprehension of Hispanic interpersonal relations.

The theme of sensitivity to social status differentials and the ability to behave accordingly is mentioned by many writers on Mexican Americans. Murillo (1976:22), Kagan (1977:77) and Jaworski (1977:8), in particular, stress the theme of training oriented to promote an attitude of deference and respect for social superiors. Madsen (1973:23) explains that the goal is to produce an "educated" person; this refers to the training as a social being for proper relations between members of *la raza* involving ritual and respect patterns. Romano (1960:972) also discusses the importance of behaving in an "educated" manner, and goes on to explain that this means behaving in accordance with expected courtesies and formality in order to maintain social distance both vertically with elders and horizontally with neighbors and strangers.

The theme of respect in Puerto Rican culture is very heavily emphasized in the literature, more so than for any other Hispanic group. Perhaps the most important discussion of the concept of respect is Lauria's (1964) classic article on the subject. Lauria observes (p.54-56) that respect is a quality of self which must be presented in all interpersonal interactions and that it signifies a proper attention to the requisites of the ceremonial order of behavior and to the moral aspects of human activities. He describes the properly socialized individual as one who both demands the respect due him by others and who is equally careful to give respect and deference to others in accordance with the various factors which determine the level of deference such as rank, affection, and so forth. Lauria (p.56) observes:

We have the picture of men who stand off from each other, players in an elaborate game where no one may come too close for fear of offending, who treat each other as potential duelists, ferocious in self-defense. And the man who is indeed *de respeto*, possessing dignity, or who is truly *macho*, who

is *serio*, taking the moral and ceremonial order seriously, and *cumplidor*, who complies with the obligations of proper interpersonal treatment, is the *hombre completo*, the integral or complete man. He possesses...an almost fanatical conviction of self value.

Diaz-Royo (1974:205-212) also elaborates extensively on *respeto* as a cultural theme. He notes:

Among Jobeños the cardinal rule governing reciprocal relationships is *respeto*. It is the prerequisite to all appropriate behavior and as such is inculcated in children from the earliest age...No absolutes govern what may constitute a *respeto* relationship, but rather it is determined by the age, sex, social and economic status of the persons involved in its expression. (p. 205)

Respecto as a quality of comportment must be presented in face to face relations. It signifies a proper attention to the order assumed in interpersonal relations, an acknowledgement of the other's unique soul, its [sic] individuality... The lack of ceremonial requisites is labelled *falta de respeto* (literally lack of *respeto*), and it invariably creates conflict situations, a break in the reciprocity assumed in all human encounters. In practice it means that all individuals are expected to act in specified ways toward all other individuals. (p. 207)

Diaz-Royo (p. 205-207) goes on to illustrate how ordinary conversations in the community were filled with statements on respect. Some examples he provides are as follows (Spanish translation deleted):

One ought to respect persons who are older.

One must show due respect in order to receive it.

Women must respect men.

Where there is no respect, there is no "shame."

He who lacks respect is worth nothing.

He who does not make himself respected is not respected by others.

Wells (1969:26) also observes that among deference values, the dominant value is respect. He also emphasizes that it is essentially a two-way street of both giving and receiving respect. The most desirable end or goal of action, according to Wells, is the self-respect which comes from enjoying the respect of others. Wagenheim (1972:211) also observes that a strong

emphasis on dignity and respect is an "official" value long attributed to Puerto Rico. He notes that: "Even in modern Puerto Rico, men treat each other with more formality than one finds in the United States."

Fox (1973:276), whose research was conducted with primarily lower-class Cuban emigres, also stresses the concept of respect. One's honor, he observes, is upheld by fulfilling family obligations and treating others with respect. Other authors on Cubans in the United States, however, are curiously silent on the topic of respect.

A good example of the way status differentiation operates in Mexican American culture is provided by Romano's (1960) analysis of donship. The title "*Don*" is added to a man's first name as a sign of increased respect and greater social distance. Romano (p.968-974) explains that there are two basic categories of donship, traditional and achieved. Traditional *dons* are those men who must be shown respect because of their position and/or power such as local patrons, wealthy businessmen or political bosses. Achieved donship is awarded by the community to any man who has earned it by behaving in an "educated" manner and whose male authority and independence is recognized. Men who are *dons* must be shown extra respect. They are spoken to more formally, are given certain courtesies and are not sought as intimate friends because intimacy is not conducive to respect. Achieved *dons*, in particular, tend to be aloof and formal; this may be because their status derives principally from prestige rather than wealth or power. The use of honorific titles, then, clearly marks the social differentiations by statuses of various kinds, including wealth, power (financial, political or medical) and prestige, and the resultant deference patterns reinforce the social distance of these status distinctions.

Diaz-Royo (1974:151) provides an analysis of donship in a traditional Puerto Rican community:

Another form of deference used by all residents in Jobos is the title *don* or *doña*. The title *don* is used preceding the name of the person; it used to be reserved in the Spanish tradition for men of noble ancestry and the clergy. It still differentiates levels of deference in the treatment of persons in Jobos. Men are supposed to address married women as *doña*, regardless of the prestige and age of the woman, but especially in the presence of their husbands. Children never call their parents *don* or *doña*, as this is reserved for people outside the kinship system. Nevertheless all married persons and older ones are entitled to be called *don* or *doña* by children. Neighbors are also referred to by these titles. All children in the Jobos school addressed the janitor by the title *don*, but among themselves only use this title to express contempt or resent other's superiority.

Although the rules which regulate the use of such titles can be seen to differ between the Mexican American and Puerto Rican examples, the function of the terms, to make differentiations by social status, foster respect and indicate social distance, is similar.

The same variation in the rules might be assumed to operate for the rules which regulate the pronouns "you," *tu* being the more familiar term and *usted* the more formal. Diaz-Royo (1974:149) provides a lengthy discussion of the strict rules which determine which pronoun should be used in addressing another. He notes that *usted* is used for persons in positions of prestige, power and wealth, for older persons, ritual co-parents and strangers. As such, it is again an indicator of social differentiations based on statuses of various sorts. The exact rules which regulate the usage of these terms probably vary by Hispanic group, generation, level of acculturation, region of the country and so forth, but the basic function remains more-or-less the same.

Mexican American social relations in general are described in the literature as rather formal, as placing a high value on both social distance and harmony. Madsen (1973:23) states: "Latin social relations are highly formalized and life is seen as dramatic and ceremonial." Part of the way

that respect patterns, deference and social distance is maintained is by the emphasis on harmonious interpersonal relations.

The stress on harmony in Mexican American social relations is described in various ways by different authors. Burma (1970:25), for example, notes that there is a stress in Mexican American social interactions on politeness, pleasantness, agreeableness and on keeping one's temper and enduring stress passively. Madsen (1973:23) notes that a person must guard against giving offense to others. Directly questioning another's beliefs or actions or other forms of direct criticism are considered offensive. Murillo (1976:19) describes the Latin approach as one which requires much tact and diplomacy with a stress on manners and courtesy in interpersonal relations. He goes on to say that the manner of expression is likely to be elaborate and indirect. that there is much concern to make social relations at least appear harmonious. He notes that since direct argument or contradiction is considered rude, a person will tend not to disagree unless this can be done tactfully. This also means that they will agree, or say that they agree, when in fact they do not.

As might be expected, there is also an emphasis on harmony, tact and diplomacy in Puerto Rican interpersonal relations. Disrespectful behavior, such as arguments, fights and direct confrontation, tend to be interpreted as assaults on the essential dignity of others (Wagenheim, 1972:211). Landy (1959:147) describes the cultural traits considered desirable both for individual personality and interpersonal relations:

Stress is placed on the desirability of a calm temperament, being nice in an understanding way as against the undesirability of being easily angered or excited...Approved traits include respectfulness, obedience, liking people, pleasantness, being nice to people.

Wagenheim (1972:214) notes that a common method of resistance to someone else's views is by means of *pelea monga* or the relaxed fight. Rather than disagree or confront, the preferred reaction is a form of passive

noncooperation. Wagenheim also observes that Puerto Ricans rarely give a directly negative answer if they can avoid it.

Cohen (1979:228-229), who worked with Hispanics in the Washington, D.C. area, also describes the cultural preference for the avoidance of conflict:

Men and women in conjugal relations emphasize the avoidance of a direct expression of conflict. This ideal is attained through a mutually shared belief that, when interpersonal conflicts occur, they should avoid the overt expression of negative feelings.

There is little information on an emphasis on harmony among Cubans. Alum (1977:12-13) does mention the importance of being *simpatico* and observes that awkwardness in interpersonal interactions - that is, being unlikeable, unwitty or disagreeable - is one of the worst cultural sins. Generally, the impression gained from the literature is that a lack of social harmony, conflict and argumentation, are more characteristic of Cubans than other groups. However, the evidence is really not clear on this point.

The argument ventured here is that this concern for and emphasis on at least the appearance of social harmony is related to the fundamental premises of respect and deference required for interactions between different social classes or between individuals with different statuses. What we are suggesting is that this emphasis on politeness and harmony helps to maintain social distance and that it is part of the glue that keeps together discrepancies generated by a highly stratified and hierarchical social structure.

The importance of status distinctions in Hispanic culture is further underlined by an examination of the Hispanic concept of the individual and the critical importance of the individual's dignity, pride and honor. It has already been pointed out that the Hispanic notion of the individual focuses primarily on the unique inner worth of the individual. It is a worth that is not measured or determined by material trappings, worldly accomplishments or position. While the Hispanic concept of the individual does not assume that all individuals should be equal, it *is* equalitarian in that it assumes

that every person, no matter how humble, has a right to an essential dignity which must be reaffirmed by the actions of others. In Lauria's (1964) terms this is the general respect that all individuals must give each other, as opposed to the more specific forms of respect, such as between a tenant and his landlord. The Hispanic concepts of dignity, honor, pride and so forth are thus, to a certain extent disconnected from material considerations.

What this means in terms of the unequal access to wealth and power characteristic of a highly stratified society is that just about everyone has a right to status via the route of "prestige," meaning personal prestige, or dignity. A wealthy and powerful person has the right to expect a great deal of respect and deference because of his high status in these areas. A humble man's claim to status, on the other hand, is not based on wealth or power but rather is based on his own essential dignity and honor, a form of prestige. Prestige value in Hispanic society derives from both ascribed characteristics such as sex and age, and also from achieved characteristics such as conducting oneself in an "educated" and honorable way. Persons whose behavior is not honorable, even wealthy and powerful persons, lose the good opinions of others. The good opinions of others are essential to one's honor because this honor is to a large extent derived from the constant reaffirmations in daily interactions with others who "recognize" it by acting with the proper amounts of respect, deference and social distance.

The emphasis on dignity, honor and pride, then, can be interpreted as an emphasis on social differentiation by status. Statuses of various kinds are involved in the evaluations that go on during interpersonal interaction. Children are trained to constantly reaffirm the status differential between their parents and themselves. Younger children learn that they must acknowledge the higher status of the older brother. Young men know that they must recognize the higher status of older men. Any man knows that he must observe the proper deference to his social superiors, and so on.

The emphasis on maintaining each individual's dignity, pride and honor in Mexican American culture is supported by the literature. Madsen (1973:23) notes that proper relations between persons must preserve the dignity and individuality of each person. Heller (1968:37) also emphasizes the importance of the concept of honor which is tied to the inner integrity of each individual. Achor (1978:117) reiterates that an individual's worth in the *barrio* is not dependent on Anglo criteria such as wealth but rather depends on whether or not the person has fulfilled proper behavioral obligations.

Each person learns to participate in the reciprocal patterns of respect and deference which are necessary to each person's own dignity and honor. That is, a person learns to whom and to what extent he must show respect, and he also learns from whom and to what extent he can expect respect from others. An individual in Hispanic culture, then, is very sensitive to cues about social status distinctions coming in to him from his social environment (e.g., Szapocznik, 1978b:117). And he is almost equally concerned that he both give proper deference when it is required and that he receive the proper amount of respect due him from others.

The concern for social harmony mentioned previously can also be seen as a device which functions to preserve each individual's self-respect, dignity and honor. As Murillo (1976:19) puts it: "Concern and respect for another's feelings dictate that a screen always be provided behind which a man may preserve his dignity." Indirect communication, politeness, good manners and so forth thus help function to allow each person to preserve his image of dignity. Direct criticism or contradiction constitutes an affront to another's essential dignity. It goes against the cultural norm which dictates that one must not assault the dignity of others by proving them wrong or showing them up as fools.

This framework should make comprehensible the frequent statements in the literature regarding Mexican Americans' sensitivity to criticism or insults.

This point is discussed by Heller (1968:36), Madsen (1973:23) and Rubel (1970:262). Rubel (1970:262) described it by stating that egos are hurt by the slightest criticism and insults are remembered forever. Madsen (1973:23) elaborates on the correct forms for harmonious social interactions. He notes that individuals should not question another individual directly as direct criticism is interpreted as offensive. He goes on to say that Mexican Americans feel that a person should not try and impose his ideas on others, and that to question the beliefs or accomplishments of another is to belittle him.

The sensitivity to criticism and insults, then, can be best comprehended when a number of factors are considered. First, it should be remembered that a complex system of social status distinctions are operating in Mexican American culture which call for the maintenance of social distance and a certain ceremonial formality in interpersonal relations. Criticism, under most circumstances, is too intimate a behavior to be permissible in most interpersonal interactions. Second, it should be remembered that social class stratification is an important aspect of Mexican American culture. Social superiors are interested in maintaining social distance from social inferiors and hence continue to require a large amount of deference from their inferiors. Persons without wealth or power, on the other hand, concentrate their energies on the maintenance of their prestige status, that is, their dignity and honor, since that is all they have. Lastly, one must remember that each person's dignity and honor requires continual reaffirmation from others and hence, to a certain extent is in the hands of others. It is necessary for one's own self-image, dignity and honor that others act in ways that acknowledge it. Therefore, the opinions of others become of crucial importance to the individual. Various forms of criticism connote negative opinions of others and are thus extremely threatening to the individual's dignity and honor.

A high level of sensitivity to the opinions of others is well-documented. Mexican Americans are often described as especially sensitive to gossip and ridicule (Achor, 1978:44, Madsen, 1973:24). Numerous authors discuss how the main social sanctions on behavior are the force of community opinion expressed via gossip and sometimes social ostracism. The Mexican American mechanism of social control by means of shame is sometimes contrasted to the Anglo mechanism of social control by means of guilt. Guilt implies that an individual's private conscience is of the utmost importance. Shame, in the Hispanic context, implies a sensitivity to the opinions of others. One reason why the insult "without shame" (*sin vergüenza*) is one of the strongest things a person can say about another is precisely because it implies that that person is no longer responsive to the opinions of others. A person who does not heed the opinions of others is no longer seeking from them affirmations of his own dignity and honor, therefore, he has lost their respect and because of that he has lost self-respect. Loss of self-respect threatens the notion of the individual's essential worth and ultimately his spirit and his very soul.

Another aspect of respect which helps explain the high level of sensitivity to criticism is the general belief that respect, as a commodity, is relatively finite. Achor (1973:38) noted in her study of a Dallas *barrio* that very needy families would often try to hide their desperation from their neighbors because once respect is gone, it is gone forever and people never forget. It seems clear from the previous explanation provided that each individual's and family's dignity and honor rest ultimately on the good opinions of others in the social environment. It is common folk wisdom which states that it takes repeated proof to create a good reputation and only one transgression to break it. This would seem to hold true for cultivating other's good opinions of one's conduct. In Mexican American culture it appears easier to go from a good opinion to a bad one than from a bad one to a good one. Indeed, there are innumerable examples where an individual, having

erred once, is forced to leave his or her home community because of damage to his or her reputation, and hence dignity and honor which could not be repaired. This leads logically to a state of constant vigilance regarding the maintenance of the good opinions of others. Criticism, therefore, can be viewed as dangerous because it signals the beginning of a switch from others' good opinion of oneself to a more negative evaluation.

Other statements in the literature regarding the importance of a Mexican American individual's pride seem to fit with what has already been stated regarding the importance of dignity and honor. Pride in terms of the desire to always appear at one's best, and in terms of not going where one is not wanted (Burma, 1970:23) seem related to what has been described as the mechanisms for the maintenance of dignity.

The literature on Puerto Rican cultures also points to a heavy cultural emphasis on individual dignity, honor and pride. This is, in turn, related to the previously discussed Hispanic notion of each individual as having a unique worth. Mintz (1966:371) emphasizes the cultural importance of the concept of dignity of the individual and notes the cultural belief in the integrity of the individual based on an inner worth which is unrelated to worldly status or accomplishments. Tumin (1971:172;181) also elaborates on the cultural insistence on individual worth and the fact that *all* men are entitled to dignity:

...The concept of respect...is a central term in the vocabulary of human relations in Puerto Rico. It is closely allied to the concept of *dignidad*, or worthiness, and the indisputable ideology regarding *dignidad* is that all men are equally entitled to it. The way one shows that he accords *dignidad* to others is by acting respectful of them. Negatively, this means that one never claims superiority or acts superior on the grounds of status; that one does not claim more rights to the good things in life than others; that no one more than others can say he is entitled to what life has to offer. (p. 172)

...Their insistence that they command respect, for example, derives from their unquestioned feelings of essential worthiness; it is a worthiness all men have, *qua* men, as

long as they are moral and decent, and it has no other grading or ranking. (p. 181)

Diaz-Royo (1974:229) also makes the point that *all* persons, regardless of socio-economic level or position, can possess *dignidad* if they behave according to the culturally appropriate rules of interpersonal interaction.

Definitions of the concept of *dignidad* are somewhat varied. Dignity and respect are often discussed together. Wells (1969:26-27) notes, for example: "The Hispanic peoples' traditional concern with *dignidad* is a manifestation of their preoccupation with respect as the highest value. The rather ambiguous word 'dignity' does not convey the true meaning of *dignidad*. It is better translated as 'self-respect' - in the sense of respect for the integrity of the self, one's own or someone else's." Seda (1958:50) provides the following discussion of the meaning of *dignidad*:

The attribute *dignidad* in Puerto Rican culture contains a variety of characteristics and nuances conveying a range of connotations. This is the man of courage and integrity, the complete man (*hombre completo*) whose word is never doubted, the respected man (*de respeto*), the model citizen, stern father and husband, the man who "walks with his head up", with almost fanatic conviction of his self-value. He is a man of few but forceful words and these carry a command. He is responsible and dedicated to the fulfillment of his obligations, judicious (*de buen juicio*), serious (*serio*), reliable, skillful, capable (*de capacidad*).

Diaz-Royo (1974:169) provides the following discussion of the concept of the "ideal person" which also helps to define *dignidad*:

The qualities that ordinarily define an ideal person among Jobeños include the following vital traits: he must have *capacidad* (roughly be competent), he must show and have *vergüenza* (have a quality of shame, but more adequately propriety), he must show and elicit *respeto*, he must inspire *confianza* in close relationships; in sum, he must be a person of *dignidad* or *digno*.

The dignity or self-respect of a person requires validation from others (Diaz-Royo, 1974:169). Validation takes the form of respect received by others. Fitzpatrick (1971:90), in a discussion of dignity, observes that Puerto Ricans are very sensitive about receiving the proper amount of respect.

Again, criticism and other behaviors which are interpreted culturally as insulting or injurious, are assaults on a person's dignity and hence self-respect. Diaz-Royo (1974:233) observes:

In this sense the traditional Puerto Rican cultural core traits are interdependent, an injury to one of these is an injury to the whole person. The traditional *Jobeño* is easily bruised or molested by others, especially if it is an outsider...The self-respect of *Jobeños* ought not be confused with face saving or pride...

Hence, the opinions of others are extremely important to Puerto Ricans; this seems quite similar to what has already been reviewed for Mexican Americans.

Related to the sensitivity to the opinions of others is the cultural stress on presenting a good image of self. Lewis (1966:xxxvii) and Padilla (1964/1958:207-210) discuss the importance of appearance, clothing and cleanliness, to the Puerto Ricans they studied. Padilla observes that parents would even keep their children home from school if they did not have sufficiently decent clothing for them. To do otherwise would have been shameful. The parents, Padilla reports, felt that in order to be well-treated and accepted one had to look "well-represented." The importance of presentation of self is illustrated in the following quotation from Mintz (1966:399):

To Puerto Rican men life is a continual display of the self. *Machismo* centers around exhibitionism and letting others know how "macho" one is. Even women compete in showing off, but in a far less flagrant manner. Women try to show off through dress, or through having a model family. But in all cases, the individual tries to impress others and gain their approval.

Individual dignity and pride are also discussed somewhat in the literature on Cubans. Alum (1977:12), for example, makes the point that Cubans value individualism which he defines a national and personal pride. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:90;96) discuss the concept of dignity in Cuban culture:

Cubans, like other Latin Americans, value highly the dignity of the person, the distinctive and innate worth of

each individual, but individuality is defined more in terms of personal qualities than of individual rights... Theoretically, material positions and benefits, titular status, and worldly success are not essential to personal dignity; the desire for material goods and successes inhibits the soul...The concern for personal dignity, together with the complex of political and social attitudes arising from it, is called *personalismo*. (p.90)

Less competent people, compromising between their ideals and the opportunities available, accept provisionally their own lower position in the hierarchy. Part of the compromise is the careful assertion that personal dignity is not infringed by inequality of status; a Cuban, no matter who he is expects to be treated with individual respect, not as a nonentity. (p.96)

Again, we find similar themes to what has already been discussed for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Cubans too expect validation of their dignity from others, and are sensitive to pressures from the social environment (Szapocznik, 1978b:117).

With regard to other Hispanics, Lucy Cohen (1979:122-126) makes clear that personal dignity and its recognition by others is a critical concern of Latin immigrants to the Washington D.C. area. Immigrants were particularly concerned with whether or not they received proper treatment from their employers. Proper treatment meant, in part, that the employers respect the dignity of the workers:

The most important aspect of working conditions for the immigrants was their relations with supervisory personnel and/or colleagues, in terms of *buen trato* (proper and good treatment) or *mal trato* (ill treatment, or lack of consideration).

Buen trato reflected the display of appropriate respect but, above all, the according of *dignidad* (dignity) to an employee. This is a core value of traditional Latin American society. *Dignidad* gives worth and respect to persons, regardless of their status in the social hierarchy...(p.122-123)

In summary, then, the Hispanic concepts of *respeto* and *dignidad* are essential to an understanding of Hispanic interpersonal relations. On one level they reflect status differentials, such as the respect accorded to social superiors, those older than oneself, or other special categories of

learning, wisdom or moral rectitude. On another level, they function in an equalitarian fashion because *all* persons can possess the prestige status of essential worthiness and dignity, no matter how humble the social or economic position. Self-respect is essentially a social process since it requires continual validation and affirmation from the social environment. Others who do not affirm one's dignity by acting with proper respect are perceived negatively. There seems to be a great deal of similarity on these points for all the Hispanic American groups.

Another frequently mentioned aspect of Mexican American culture is an emphasis on verbal articulateness and a kind of conversational game or contest usually referred to as verbal dueling. The general emphasis on verbal articulateness and pride in the art of verbal expression (Heller, 1968:36, Murillo, 1976:19) can be understood in the context of the ethos component which Gillin (1965:513-516) called the idealistic or transcendent world view in which words and concepts have a higher value than pragmatic concerns or things. Numerous examples of the Hispanic emphasis on verbal expression could be cited, from the special reverence for poets and poetry, to literary figures who become diplomats or even heads of state, to the folk traditions of oral ballads and songs, to the enjoyment shown by crowds at long and elaborate speeches.

Verbal dueling, on the other hand, refers to a conversational game carried out between males where they try to get the better of their opponent by verbal manipulations (such as puns), where insults and/or criticism are disguised as jokes or even flattery. Participants are expected to behave with dignity and stoicism. The disguised insults should be recognized, treated lightly, and then returned in kind. The winner of a verbal duel is sometimes described as the man who has succeeded in fooling his opponent into thinking that he has been flattered when in fact he has been insulted. The ability to engage in verbal dueling in the proper fashion is part of the

Mexican American definition of the masculine role (Romano, 1960:974).

Puerto Ricans seem to also manifest the general Latin emphasis on verbal articulateness (Wells, 1969) although this is not discussed as extensively as in the literature on Mexican Americans. A Puerto Rican form of verbal dueling, which closely parallels the Mexican American variety, is discussed by Lauria (1964:58-63). Lauria discusses what he calls "confrontational joking games" and "joking contests" in the context of the term *relajo*. *El relajo* refers to a situation of relaxing; joking, kidding, banter and so forth. The normal rules of social interaction and respect are also somewhat relaxed, although the joking also follows certain rules. In the confrontational joking game men trade sallies which can contain offensive messages but which must be treated as jokes. In the contest, one tries to "score points" by engaging in the encounter with clever sallies, and in never allowing oneself to get flustered or angry. Lauria makes the point that these types of encounters between men go on almost constantly, both between men of equal status and men of unequal status. If the rules are followed, the proper social distance is observed by participants maintaining their reserve. If participants lose their reserve (e.g. start an open fight) then their behavior becomes an abuse and an offense because a "lack of respect" has been committed.

The Cuban emphasis on verbal articulateness is discussed by MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:38;93). While pointing out that this is a class-linked phenomenon, the upper-classes having the access to education and rhetorical training, they also note its importance for all people:

...Training in rhetorical skills is an important part of education at all levels. In ordinary life, speaking ability is an essential part of the public bearing of every successful man and most women. Declamation is more persuasive than statement, and some distrust is felt for taciturn individuals and those who express themselves simply, without repetition or flourish. Poetry is frequently quoted by people in all walks of life, and many of Cuba's best known political heroes have been noted poets. (p. 38)

Alum (1977:13) also discusses the Cuban *relajo*, also called *choteo*. He notes that it is a mechanism for equalitarianism in which hostility is channeled through jokes and wit. Participants must accept jokes in the proper spirit in order to be *simpatico*, that is, good sports.

The emphasis on verbal articulateness can be seen to have a dual function. On the one hand, it probably serves to reinforce class distinctions because the educated classes will speak and express themselves differently from the masses. On the other hand, the emphasis on verbal articulateness can be seen to express itself in all classes. It can be understood, in part, as a method available for accruing prestige status. The humble man may not write sonnets but he may be a master in the verbal duel. Verbal dueling, also characteristically Hispanic, is something which needs to be understood for a comprehension of Hispanic interpersonal interactions. Verbal duels can be seen, as Alum pointed out, as mechanisms for equalitarianism, and also as mechanisms by which status differentials are manipulated. They are also culturally appropriate ways of criticizing or even insulting others; characteristically an indirect method which maintains social harmony is used.

The last topic which seems to relate to high power distance is *liderismo* or the personalistic leadership style. This is discussed for Mexican Americans by Tirado (1970:68), and for Puerto Ricans by Wells (1969:27-31). According to Wells, the leader, who must be charismatic, gains the loyalty, faith and even affection of his followers who are more loyal to the individual leader than they are to either the organization or platform which he represents. Examples of such leadership styles in Latin America come easily to mind, from Peron in Argentina, to Luis Munoz Marin in Puerto Rico, Zapata in Mexico, Castro in Cuba, Chavez in the United States.

Yet despite *liderismo* and all it implies, there seems to be a counterbalancing cultural tendency to challenge authority which also appears consistently in the literature. Many observations by writers show considerable

antipathy toward leaders and bosses in general. Achor (1978:44-45), discussing Mexican Americans, comments on an ethic of social equality in the *barrio* which she claims orients people against community leaders and organized collectivities. She quotes her informants as saying, "nobody tells me what to do or think." Madsen (1973:32) also comments on a general Mexican American dislike of foremen and employers. For the slightest offense, he claims, Mexican Americans will walk away from a job or not turn up for work the following day. Mead (1953:182) observed that New Mexican Hispanos preferred to earn less than to work for others. Clark (1959:84) elaborates on how Mexican Americans prefer to be self-employed.

Rebelliousness against authority seems less characteristic of Puerto Ricans. Landy (1959:116) does make the observation that adults will applaud occasional outbursts of aggression against authority figures, but he goes on to say that they express little sympathy for the aggressor once he has been arrested. Generally the literature suggests that aggressiveness and rebelliousness in Puerto Rican culture are downplayed.

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:98) observe that Cubans are suspicious of authority.

Cubans expect to be betrayed by those in whom they find it expedient to put their trust. Unless personal confidence remains absolute they are willing to believe any villainy of former heroes.

Lewis (1978:546) makes the following observation:

For Cubans, in general, having opinions and giving them, with little inhibition - to a friend, a foreigner, or to Fidel himself if the chance arose - was more common than not.

Hence, the Hispanic respect for personal leadership and for social superiors in general is tempered by an opposite tendency to reject authority.

Social Differentiation By Sex

Introduction and Summary

All cultures make distinctions between males and females. What varies, however, is the degree to which members of a culture stress or pay attention to social differentiation on the basis of sex. It is fairly well-known that Mediterranean, Iberian and Latin American cultures emphasize social differentiation by sex (Pescatello, 1973, Pitt-Rivers, 1966, Wagley, 1968). One might assume that to some degree this emphasis is retained and continues to characterize Hispanics in the United States.

Generally the literature supports the proposition that social differentiation by sex is important in Hispanic culture in the United States. Many authors devote a great deal of attention to the topic of sex roles in general. There is a remarkable degree of consistency in the broad outlines of their descriptions of sex roles among the various Hispanic groups.

Two concepts need to be grasped in order to understand the philosophical underpinnings of Hispanic sex roles. One is the myth or premise of male superiority. This notion contains the assumption of female inferiority and helps explain the need for the double standard of morality. The second concept has to do with honor and shame and the fact that the male's status is linked to the state of "purity" of his females. The Hispanic double standard, according to Fox (1973) is an elaborate game played among men for the prize of the esteem of other men.

Hispanic sex roles are most frequently discussed in the literature in terms of familial roles. Most authors discuss these topics in terms of cultural ideals, sometimes noting the discrepancy between ideals and actual behavior. The husband and father is usually described as the master of the house, the main authority, primary provider, and one to whom respect and

obedience is due. Women are generally described in terms of the ideal wife, one who is submissive, subdued, compliant, self-sacrificing and chaste. Motherhood is usually described as the central role for women. The proper female domain is in the home. The street and the outside world is viewed as appropriate for males. Domestic work is deemed appropriate to females and inappropriate for males. Ideally, only males are employed outside the home. A number of authors point out that despite this ideology of female subordination, women, in many cases, have actually worked and often have considerable power. The literature on Puerto Rico and Cuba, in particular, points to the fact of some influential women in public life.

Machismo or manliness as an ideal is discussed by authors on all Hispanic groups. Defined in various ways, it is a constellation of values, ideals and behaviors appropriate to the realization of manhood. An important element of *machismo* is the maintenance of the male's dignity and respect, or honor. The female counterpart to *machismo* is less discussed in the literature. The ideal woman is generally described as one who remains totally above reproach and who is submissive to the men in her life.

Social differentiation by sex can be seen in the differential treatment of children. The different socialization of males and females is elaborated in the literature.

Social differentiation by sex can also be seen in the often mentioned Hispanic tendency toward segregation of the sexes, both for children and adults. A good number of accounts stress that both sexes spend a great deal of time in same sex groups. Male socializing groups of various kinds are described in the literature.

A number of authors suggest and describe changes in Hispanic sex roles in the United States, although some authors such as Gil (1976:98-99) and Fox (1973), seem to suggest that the area of sex roles is a bastion of cultural traditionalism. Lewis and Pigdon (1978:528-530), writing on Cuba

after the revolution, observed that despite revolutionary goals of liberalization and equalization, sex roles in Cuba had changed very little:

...insofar as power relationships within the family were concerned, the ten adult informants had expected the Revolution to stop at their front doors. At the time of our research the division of labor and authority in the five homes followed basically traditional patterns - the women spending most of their time doing household chores and taking primary responsibility for child care, the men having final authority in all important household and family matters.

...Although the men's lives had changed more than the women's, their attitudes on sex roles and family life had, like those of the women, changed very little. They retained their image of women as wives and mothers, and *machismo* persisted as much in avowed revolutionaries like Cárdenas, Hernández, and Pérez as in the less politicized Rojas and Lobrađa.

On the contrary, most of the leaders were profoundly middle-class and Latin in their concept of the family, particularly so on their view on motherhood. Day-care centers and boarding schools notwithstanding, the state has not tried to counteract the traditionally reverent attitude toward motherhood. Cubans continued to view women generally as inherently more nurturant than men, and the state had almost exclusively recruited women to staff the day-care centers...

Fox (1973:274-275), writing on working-class Cuban immigrants in the United States, makes a similar point about cultural conservatism with regard to sex roles. He notes that: "Their beliefs regarding the proper roles of the sexes are parts of a complex system of relationships, no part of which can be changed without challenge to the rest." Fox suggests that one of the reasons why his sample left Cuba was because of the challenge to their self-esteem as a result of revolutionary attempts to change sex roles.

Discussion of Social Differentiation By Sex

Fox's (1973) article on Cuban sex roles provides an excellent brief historical summary and a review of the basic underlying premises of Hispanic sex roles. Fox notes that the most important formative influence on sex roles came from Spain, sustained by four centuries of Spanish political domination. Fox identifies other, more minor influences, from west African

cultures and also from Europe and the United States. For Mexico, one must clearly add the influence of various Indian groups.

Two basic premises of Hispanic sex roles, according to Fox, are the myth of male superiority, and the basic concepts of honor and shame. Regarding the concept of male superiority, he notes that the traditional male system of esteem was founded on the (p. 275): "sociophysiological myth of innate differences between the sexes in temperament, desires, and physical and moral competence."

The relevant aspect of the concept of honor is, briefly, that a male's honor is linked to the state of purity of his significant females. The most devastating way for one male to dishonor another male is through his women. The concept of shame, Fox continues, is most applicable to women who are extremely sensitive to the opinions of others. A woman must remain pure, or if married, act in a way that is above suspicion. If a woman is labelled as "without shame " this brings a devastating dishonor to her men. Manly honor, on the other hand, is associated with the conquest of women. Female virtue with prevention. The double standard, Fox explains drawing on Pitt-Rivers (1966), is an elaborate game played among men for social status. The Prize is not the woman but the esteem of other men. This same point is made with regard to Puerto Rico by Diaz-Royo (1974:212): "The respect due to any man is intrinsically tied to the sexual purity of his significant females, be it his mother, sister or wife."

The myth or premise of male superiority is mentioned frequently in the literature. Giraldo (1972 298), writing on *machismo* in Latin American culture, claims: "Both men and women believe in the superiority of the male." This premise contains the concomitant assumption of the inferiority of females and hence, the need for a double standard of morality.

In the literature on Mexican Americans, Henderson (1979:112) argues that males are generally considered to be stronger, more reliable and more

intelligent than females Romano (1960:973) states that Mexican Americans believe that women are basically weak and hence, are relatively incapable of being faithful, that is, maintaining moral behavior. Men are considered to be stronger and more capable, therefore, it is up to them to control both their own actions and to safeguard women. Heller (1968:34) asserts that in Mexican American culture, throughout the life cycle, men are accorded higher status than women. Madsen (1973:19) also states: "Latin society rests firmly on the basis of family solidarity and the concept of male superiority.

For Puerto Rican culture, Wells (1969:25) claims that there is a traditional belief in male superiority which he observes is common to all Spanish-American countries, Spain, the near East and elsewhere. He notes the concomittant belief that females are inferior and weaker, morally as well as physically, which he says helps to explain the cult of virginity and the highly circumscribed role traditionally assigned to married women. Wells refers to a study by J. Mayone Stycos (1955:30-31) which found that many islanders still believe that men think better than women, and can withstand moral temptation more steadfastly. G. Lewis (1963:265) also states: "The woman is viewed as being inherently inferior to the man: she is even seen as suffering from a mental debility and a moral weakness which require an elaborate system of masculine checks upon her freedom of movement." Diaz-Royo (1974:212) makes a similar point:

...*Respeto* is expected to take different manifestations depending on the gender of the actors. For a woman to show *respeto* towards a man is to acknowledge his natural qualities as a superior, as a male. For a man to reciprocate *respeto* is to acknowledge her purity or the recognition of the fact that she is the possession of another male.

Wagenheim (1972:211) also calls attention to the basic cultural assumption of male superiority which he explains means a belief that "man is innately superior to woman." Mintz (1966:425-426) also remarks on the Puerto Rican belief in the natural inferiority of women. He notes that

women are said to have five senses whereas men have seven, and that women are considered to be physically weaker, more emotional, unable to reason, and to have radically different personality structures. Mintz links these basic assumptions to the double standard of morality and the cult of virginity. He states (p. 420) that women are thought to be incapable of defending themselves from male aggression.

Landy (1959:63) also discusses the same topic: "The girl is considered immanently weak and unwary in protecting herself from male assault. Men believe women are endowed with inferior mental equipment and some speak of males having extra 'senses' as compared with females." Girls, he asserts (p. 122), are generally conceived of as submissive, defenseless and delicate creatures. Landy also discusses the "cult of virginity" for women and notes that not only must girls be actual virgins but they must behave in a way which casts no aspersions on their state of purity. In a more recent comment on this topic, Rivera (1975:188) observed:

...In a questionnaire given to university students in 1974, 69% of the male respondents and 70% of the female respondents defended virginity as the appropriate condition for a woman about to become married.

Mintz (1966:412) discusses the implications of the double standard in Puerto Rico:

Women are supposed to be virgins when they marry and to remain chaste afterwards...The woman...must show absolute fidelity in reputation as well as in deed. She cannot do anything which might hint of infidelity, such as talking with a man who is not her husband. Women are not trusted around men at all...They are taught to submit to men, and to rely for protection on their fathers, brothers, and later, husbands. It is presumed, and with some accuracy, that if given a chance a woman will fall.

The assumed innate differences between the sexes are also discussed by Padilla (1964/1958:181). The double standard of morality is also discussed by Fitzpatrick (1971:81), Seda (1973:71) and others.

Among writers on Cubans, Fox (1973) discusses the myth of male

superiority and Moreno (1971) discusses the double standard. Fox (1973:288)

also asserts:

Among the attitudes common to Andalusians and the Cuban respondents is the conviction that men are naturally more aggressive sexually than women...and that women are relatively defenseless against this aggression without the protection of husbands and fathers.

While the cultural ideals or myths involve this concept of male superiority, Lucy Cohen (1979:239) makes the very interesting point that the Hispanic immigrant women in Washington were actually the "stronger" of the two, in terms of self-control and self-mastery.

A leading source of stress between spouses is the contrast between feminine and masculine concepts of the nature and exercise of containment of feelings and control of the self. On the one hand, women are expected to act as moderators in tense situations and to contain emotions such as hostility to a greater extent than men. Following cultural tradition, women's behavior is supposed to bring stability to a conjugal relationship. On the other hand, the practice of the control of the self among men calls for the governing of strong feelings such as those associated with the expression of anger. Men are expected, however, to depend not only on their own control but also on the moderating influence of women. An aspect of strength in women's *character* is thus based on independent self-mastery and energy left over to help men, while masculine control of the self is to some extent dependent on the influence of women.

Elsewhere (p. 211), she observes that mothers are expected to have greater emotional self-reliance than fathers. Cohen's observations demonstrates the gulf between cultural ideology and cultural realities, between ideals and actualities. Of interest too is Giraldo's (1972:300) not entirely original suggestion that *machismo* among men may result from an inferiority complex rather than any true feelings of superiority.

Hispanic sex roles are most frequently discussed in the literature in terms of familial roles. The following discussion focuses on what authors have stated are cultural ideals.

Many authors state that the Mexican American cultural ideal for the family is patriarchy or male dominance (Berk-Seligson, 1980; 73, Clark, 1959:149,

Edmonson, 1957:53-56, Grebler et al., 1970:360, Heller, 1968:34, Madsen, 1973:56, Mead, 1953:169-171, Murillo, 1976:21, Tuck, 1974/1946:115, Rubel 1970:212-217). The father is viewed as the head or master of the house. He expects and demands obedience, respect and services from other family members (Heller, 1968:34, Murillo, 1976:21). The idealized lines of authority rest with the males of the household; the father is the chief authority and in his absence the eldest son has considerable authority.

Men are supposed to be the providers and defenders of their families (Burma, 1970:21). It is they who represent the family to the wider community (Edmonson, 1957:55-56).

While the Mexican American father and husband is seen as dominant and authoritarian, the wife, who is the archetype of the feminine role, is supposed to be submissive, subdued, compliant and chaste. The wife, whose central role is motherhood, is ideally devoted to the family. She should be self-sacrificing, warm and nurturing (Murillo, 1976:21). Madsen (1973:50) states that while the husband commands, the wife's role is to acknowledge his authority, see to his comforts, tolerate masculine abuse, and to avoid appearing resentful. Achor (1978:79, 90) states that the first responsibility of women is to be good mothers. She describes the ideal wife as one who was loyal to her husband, did not nag or complain, and who was a good mother. Clark (1959:149) notes that the women of a family were supposed to be sheltered and protected. Wives, and women in general then, are ideally supposed to be submissive, self-sacrificing, stoical, unworldly, modest and chaste.

The proper domain for women, many authors state, is in the home. Women's primary duties involve the task of running the home, caring for the children and doing domestic work. Ideally, it is only the male who goes out into the world to earn the living. A number of authors note a strong cultural value against women working outside the home. Achor (1978:89) states that a man would feel shame if his wife worked. Women working outside the home violates

a number of cultural ideals. It undercuts the male in his position as the main economic provider. And it puts women into contact with the potentially corrupting outside world. However, as Safa (1980:11) points out in an article on Hispanic women in the labor force, this ideal is generally only realized by women of the elite.

The same themes are repeated in the literature on Puerto Rican culture. Wells (1969:25) asserts that Puerto Ricans, like other Latins, traditionally placed a high valuation on authoritarian husbands and patriarchal fathers. Fitzpatrick (1971:80) observes that ideally women were supposed to be subordinate to the superior authority of the man of the house. Padilla (1964/1958:149) describes family roles by noting that the father was the boss of the house and the mother was supposed to manage family matters. In Wolf's (1956:206, 223) community study carried out in the late 1940s, he remarks that the father was in charge of the family's economic resources, and that marriage required the subordination of the wife to the husband. Mintz (1956:379), studying another community at the same time period, observed that men were supposed to be dominant and deciding figures in the home at all times, and that women were supposed to remain at home. Again, authors note that the male's principal role in the home is that of economic provider (Safa, 1974:44). Men are supposed to represent the family to the outside world. Mintz (1956:379) observed that even when women contributed to the household economy, men were still supposed to be main providers.

Wells' (1969:43) description of sex roles in the traditional Puerto Rican family is as follows:

...the father is ideally the lord and master...it is incumbent upon him to control the family as its decision-maker, lawgiver, and disciplinarian, as well as to serve as its breadwinner and its only contact with the outside world. His wife is meant to be a submissive helpmate, more a servant than a partner, who would never venture forth from home unless accompanied by her husband or otherwise suitably chaperoned...the premise of male superiority underlies relations between husband and wife from the moment of the couple's engagement.

Seda (1958:6-7) also describes the role of husband and father in terms of his position as *jefe de familia* (chief of the family), noting that he holds "the supreme authority position in the family." He observed that while the ideal is more often realized in the more traditional island communities, in less traditional communities the ideals "are often verbalized although seldom practiced in their full implications."

Landy (1959:80) also observes that males expect to have a commanding authority in the home, and he claims that this ideal is frequently carried out in practice. He states that while the wife may run the home, she does so in the name of the husband and for him. Women, he asserts (p. 96), do not admire their husbands, but they do fear them and this fear they translate as respect.

There are a number of descriptions in the literature of the ideal wife and the good woman. Seda (1958:61) observed.

The good married woman is ideally a woman of the home (*mujer de su casa*). If her husband goes out with other women she "suffers in silence." A suffering wife is said to be a martyr and a saintly woman (*una santa mujer*), who sacrifices herself (*sacrificada*). Her only concern should be the wellbeing of her husband and her children... she has no concern for other people's life...and always stays at home. She is quiet and meticulously clean (*pulcra*), *toda una dame* (a dame in every sense)...and meets the cultural requirements as a "woman to respect."

Kathleen Wolf (1972:236-237), writing on the rural Puerto Rican family, claims that ideally the wife is the husband's servant. She also remarks: "To be a good wife and mother is the only socially acceptable role for the woman in Manicaboa."

The ideal wife, according to Padilla (1956:293), is one who is competent at housekeeping and motherhood. The "good" wife, she states is quiet, loyal, mends and washes her husband's clothes, cooks, is clean and knows how to read. Seda (1973:65), in a later work, reports that his informants' normative requirements for an ideal wife emphasized a stress on marital

fidelity; they also stated that a woman should not go out of the house without her husband's permission, that she should always have her husband's food and clothing ready, and that she should stay home and keep the house clean and orderly. Safa (1974:43) also reports that women are supposed to be primarily concerned with their domestic duties.

Landy (1959:75) reports that: "The ancient dictum, 'the woman's place is in the home,' is to a large extent practice as well as theory among Vallecanañeses." He notes that for girls there is less confounding of roles and needs; their place is in or near the home where they are expected to be mother substitutes for siblings, and help with domestic chores. He asserts that while girls are allowed to play with friends, in the evenings they must stay home because no respectable female is on the street at night.

Almost all accounts stress that women in general have less freedom of movement than men. Women ideally should have home-centered existences. Padilla (1964/1958:151-152) observes, for example, that while men may go out freely, women are supposed to stay at home and keep themselves busy. Wolf (1956:214) notes how recreational activities reflect the basic assumptions of appropriate sex roles. He notes that only men may go out and drink, play dice or cards, watch an informal cockfight and so forth; women may not.

A number of authors observe that while the cultural ideals stipulate male dominance and female submissiveness, actual behavior deviates from the ideals. Some authors emphasize the point that women in Puerto Rico have always had considerable influence. Fitzpatrick (1971:80-81) notes, for example, that despite the cultural ideal of female subordination, women have a great deal of influence on their sons and are also quite active themselves in public and academic affairs. Oscar Lewis (1966:xxvii) observed that lower-class Puerto Rican women were more demanding and less giving and had much less of a martyr complex than Mexican women. Mintz (1966:409-410) claims that the image of male dominance in the household is so important

that the outward semblance of this authority is preserved even when it does not in fact exist. He remarks that the actual control exercised by men varied quite a lot. Padilla (1956:293) observed that the lower-class women in the community she studied were generally freer than middle-class Puerto Rican women, and she notes that the lower-class women had considerable authority in the home. Lopez Garriga (1978), on the other hand, hypothesizes that Puerto Rican women assert themselves by means of manipulation. Safa (1980:11) also questions the relevance of such sex role ideals to the reality of Hispanic lives:

. . .The high percentage of Hispanic women employed in the U.S. belies the notion that it is a cultural tradition which prevents Latin American women from seeking employment. The Latin American notion of *machismo* or male superiority is often cited as a reason why women are confined to the home, since their employment might threaten the male's role as chief breadwinner and authority in the household. This notion ignores the fact that most peasant and urban working class women in Latin America have always contributed to the family income, either through paid employment or as part of a family productive unit, or through odd jobs in the informal economy. As in the U.S., therefore, the ideology of female confinement to the home was only operative among elite women, whose husbands could afford to keep them idle.

Descriptions of traditional Cuban society contain similar statements on sex roles to those already reviewed for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:53-54) discuss the traditional authority of the husband:

Before 1959 upper- and lower-class families differed considerably. The upper-class ideal was drawn from aristocratic tradition which emphasized the authority of the father and the gentility of the whole family, particularly of women. Spanish law subordinated a wife to her husband; without his permission, for example, she could not engage in any business transaction...

Husbands, in the traditional view, are not expected to be faithful to their wives...The ideal wife, on the other hand, is a subservient figure, not only chaste, but preferably sexually innocent. In republican times, however, women have been less and less inclined to accept this ideal.

Moreno (1971:479) also describes the role of women in traditional Cuban society. He notes that the roles of mother, wife and housekeeper were particularly emphasized. He states: "Whereas boys were encouraged from early childhood to behave with *machismo* (male chauvinism), girls were instilled from an early age with the joys of femininity, to make them gracious and particularly attractive to men."

Lastly, with regard to Hispanics in the Washington D.C. area, Szalay (1978:36) observes that Hispanic Americans idealize the role of the mother more so than do Anglo Americans. He also observes: "Hispanics consider responsibility and even sacrifice to be important aspects of mothering."

Part of the discussion about Hispanic sex roles usually focuses on the concept of *machismo* (manliness) and sometimes on the contrasting role ideals for females, sometimes called *marianismo* or *hembrismo*.

Machismo is defined in various ways by various authors, but usually refers to a constellation of values, behaviors, attributes and characteristics of the cultural definition of successful maleness. Romano (1960:973-974), for example, states that the Mexican American definition of successful maleness includes: (1) behaving in an "educated" manner, (2) having the ability to defend oneself (for example, as in verbal dueling), (3) patterns of dealing with problems by withdrawal (social distance), (4) avoiding inciting envy, and (5) controlling one's family and being independent. Madsen's (1973:20-21) explanation of *machismo* is that it is connected with commanding respect, lack of indebtedness, lack of involvement with formal organizations, avoidance of being proved wrong, repaying insults, strength in all things, maintaining dignity, verbal dueling and sexual exploits. He claims that this concept of manliness guides much male behavior.

Burma (1970:23) lists as manifestations of *machismo*: violence, the conquest of women, and reckless spending. Heller (1968:35) provides the following features of the male ideal: strength, sexual prowess,

adventurousness, courage, self confidence and verbal articulateness. Aguilar (1979:153) observed that an important aspect of manliness is that one should never crack or back down.

Mexican American cultural ideals for the qualities of females receive less elaboration in the literature. As stated previously, women are generally expected to seek self-realization in motherhood. The female ideals are described as submissive, self-sacrificing, unworldly and chaste behavior. Women's domains are within the home; the "street" or outside world is the place of men. Women are subject to the double standard of morality. Clark (1959:152), for example, notes that men are expected to have dalliances or liaisons outside the home. Women, on the other hand, are expected and required to remain completely faithful to their husbands. Girls should be virgins before marriage; their virtue is safeguarded by numerous restrictions on their behavior such as the institution of chaperoning.

Machismo also appears to be an important concept in Puerto Rican culture. Fitzpatrick (1971:91) defines it as personal daring and magnetism including sexual prowess. Mintz (1966:421) claims that *machismo* includes: 'defending oneself', gambling, cockfighting, drinking heavily, having many women, and being a good sport. He further observes that *machismo* centers around exhibitionism and letting others know how "macho" one is. Landy (1959:121) states that: "the essence of maleness is inherent aggression." Seda (1958: 39-40) asserts: "The concept of manliness (*hombria*) takes almost top priority in the Puerto Rican cultural definition of the virtues of a man...The basic components of manliness are *dignidad*, *respeto*, and *vergüenza*." Seda links *machismo* with the lower-class definition of "real-maleness" which combines courage, respect, bravery, and sexual assertiveness. According to Ortiz (1974:145) "machismo" and "dependence of the woman" are fairly common themes in literary and scientific works on Puerto Rico. Pamirez (1964) reiterates

that a double system of values for the sexes is one of the components of traditional Puerto Rican culture.

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:91-93) discuss *machismo* in Cuban culture:

Success in competition and mastery of one's environment may be demonstrated by a wide range of ideal personal qualities, the most common and admired of which is *machismo* (maleness). The characteristics of the male type (*macho*) in Latin America are summarized by J. P. Gillin (1960): "The *macho* is expected to show sexual prowess, zest for action, including verbal 'action', daring, and, above all, absolute self-confidence. He may express his inner convictions by resorting to physical force, as in the case of bandits and revolutionary military leaders, or he may do so verbally as a leading intellectual, lawyer, or politician. Not all *machos* are *caudillos* (leaders) but all *caudillos* must be *macho*."

Manliness may also be displayed in military or athletic prowess. Heroes of this type include the boxer, the baseball player, the cane cutter, and the guerrilla. Not every one can match the ideal in performance, but most people are enthusiastic spectators, identifying themselves with the boxer or baseball player in his achievements.

Fox (1973) discusses manliness in Cuban culture; he claims that the term *machismo* is not part of the normal vocabulary of Cuban men. He elaborates on the sex role ideals:

In summary, what is most important about a woman is that she *avoid* unwomanly activities and, in general, when she is active her activity must be subservient to the man's need. (p. 285)

Running throughout these catalogues of virtues these are common themes: the male as initiator, the female as follower; the male dealing with the outside world, the female safe within the household; the male as susceptible to "vices," the female as vulnerable to male sexual aggression; the male admirable for aggressiveness, the female for her avoidance of contacts that would test her "purity." (p. 286)

Social differentiation by sex can be seen in the differential socialization of children by sex. This is described and commented upon by many authors. Achor (1978:72-73), for example, notes how Mexican American children are clearly distinguished by sex. She describes how this differentiation is so important that mothers would put dresses on their young daughters even when the weather was very cold. Heller (1968:36) and Tuck

(1974/1946:124) claim that boys and girls are socialized differently in order to prepare them for their later adult roles. They describe how boys have more freedom to do what they want and to come and go as they please, whereas girls are more restricted and sheltered. Children's participation in the household chores follows the sexual division of labor characteristic of adults; girls take on more and more domestic tasks and boys are left relatively free from domestic responsibility.

The same sorts of comments can be gleaned from the literature on Puerto Rican culture. The observations of many authors seem to support Seda's (1958:26) contention that "the socialization of girls in Puerto Rico is different from that of boys." Landy (1959:159;236), whose study focused on socialization, notes that whether a child is a girl or boy makes a sharp difference in how the child is received in the world and how he or she is handled throughout life. He notes: "Extremely sharp distinctions are made at birth between male and female. In every phase of family and community life, separation of the sexes is mandatory for child and adult." Landy describes in some detail the differential treatment of children according to sex, noting, for example, that females are cloistered and closely watched (p.93), and that in play and other things, boys are allowed greater freedom (p.139). Wells (1969:45) also notes that traditional child-rearing includes a constant stress on masculinity as a style of action to which boys of the family should aspire. Safa (1974:51) observes that for children, distinctions of sex are more important than distinctions by age; she notes that girls are more sheltered and boys are expected to be harder to control.

Seda (1958:29) observes: "The expectation of predatory attitudes from a man, as against female withdrawal and defensiveness, goes back to the earliest years of life when children are separated on the basis of sex and girls are protected from contact with boys." Diaz-Royo (1974:194), in a more recent study of a traditional island community, claimed: "Sex

separation in child rearing is one of the most important roles of the mother in Jobos." Diaz-Royo also notes:

...From a very early age they learn to share the accumulated meanings assigned to each sex.

Jobo's children are separated by sex at a very early age. Boys are not expected to remain in the home, a place for females. Girls are not supposed to participate in games with boys. Mothers are strict enforcers of these rules as early as age three... (p.153)

...A boy's cultural model is to be a *macho completo* (a whole and complete male)... *La nena*, the girl, is closer to the mother and learns to stay in the house, to share household duties with the mother and serve the males... Brothers soon learn from parents that they are the keepers of their sisters' honor and virginity and are expected to guard them from other desirous males. (p. 155)

Kathleen Wolf (1972:245) makes similar points, observing that girl children are increasingly confined whereas boys are allowed increasing freedom as they get older. Stanton (1966:44-46) also observed marked separation of the sexes in child-rearing. Mintz (1956:384-385), in a study of a sugar cane community in the late 1940s, also observed: "Sex differentiation, then, and many of its cultural implications, begins to be taught at about three years, perhaps even earlier." He notes that boys, beginning when they start to toddle, are taught that aggressiveness is male and that an emphasis on maleness is strongly marked: "From infancy onward, the boy learns that he must be *muy macho*." Girls, he notes, are kept much more in check by their parents and have much less freedom. "By the time boys and girls have entered puberty, however, their male and female roles are sharply defined."

For Puerto Rican culture, Mintz (1966:412) describes the segregation of the sexes:

In all classes the sexes are strictly separated. Little girls are kept clothed, are kept nearer the home and under close supervision, and are expected to be more submissive. Little boys are encouraged to be independent and aggressive within certain limits, and are allowed to go without clothes ...Boys are not so closely guarded, and in towns are allowed to roam the streets.

Mintz (p.408) further observes that: "All opportunities for young people of opposite sexes to meet and socialize are carefully supervised...there are few opportunities for a boy and a girl to get to know each other casually." Both Padilla (1956:292) and Mintz (1956:385) make the point that after children reach about eight years of age the boys and girls are kept relatively separate and tend to play and associate with primarily members of their same sex. Padilla (1964/1958:187) makes the same observation with regard to New York Puerto Ricans who, she states, feel that girls and boys should not play together except for siblings and even they should be supervised. Wagenheim (1972:211) also mentions that Puerto Rican children are mainly raised apart by sex. Landy (1959:145) also states: "Not only must 'boys act like boys' and 'girls like girls' but usually they must not associate with each other, once latency is reached, even though they be siblings."

Glazer and Moynihan (1963:123), discussing Puerto Ricans in New York, note the following:

...The boys are praised for their manliness, taught to be proper males, and aside from requiring them to be respectful to their fathers...are left to raise themselves. In radically different fashion, the girls are carefully watched, warned to keep their virginity - without which a proper marriage is inconceivable - and relatively early escape from this restrictive stifling atmosphere into marriage and motherhood.

Padilla (1964/1958:170), in her study of New York Puerto Ricans, describes the basic ideals of behavior that parents teach their children, ideals which vary according to sex. She notes (p.185-186) that since a good woman is expected to possess very different qualities than a good man, the differences between boys and girls are stressed in every part of a child's life.

There is less information available on child socialization in the literature consulted on Cuban culture. MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:55) do make the observation that: "Spanish tradition requires the strict chaperonage of daughters, but it was not a strong pattern in the lower-class and

now is very rare." Gil (1976:98-99), who studied Cubans in Los Angeles, makes the following remarks:

...Cubans have been characterized as permissive parents at least by American standards...Sexual mores, however flexible or dutifully enforced, were the greatest exception to a permissive spirit. In exile, there seems to be a less obvious attempt at maintaining rigorous socialization standards for the youth, particularly the female.

...The double standard of sexual chastity which over-protected daughters and never questioned sons has changed little abroad.

Cohen (1979:236), writing on Hispanic immigrants to Washington, also claims: "Marked differences are evident, nevertheless, in the behavioral expectations for boys and girls."

Social differentiation by sex can be seen in the often mentioned tendency of adults to segregate by sex. For Mexican American culture, Mead (1953:173) asserts that relations between boys and girls are strictly controlled and that the pattern of segregation of the sexes is characteristic of many aspects of life. Achor (1978:42-43) observed that people in the Dallas *barrio* tended to interact socially in peer groups, usually associating with people of the same sex and age. She also notes that at social events men and women tended to segregate, with women staying inside so as to not violate the men's domain. Coed interaction, she states, was most common for adolescents but even they tended to spend the majority of their time with their own sex.

Mexican American males, particularly adolescents and young adults, are often described as spending the majority of their free time with other males in groups, sometimes called *palomillas*. Clark (1959:140), Madsen (1973:56) and Rubel (1965:92-97) describe the organization and activities of *palomillas*. Waddell (1968:138-139) also describes the importance of male socializing groups outside the home; in particular he discusses drinking groups. The men's groups sometimes assume an importance second only to the family. Women,

on the other hand, are more confined to the home and Madsen (1973:55) points out that the females of a household - mother, daughters and sisters - tend to group together. A number of authors suggest that relations between mothers and daughters in Mexican American culture are particularly close.

The tendency for Puerto Rican adults to associate primarily with the same sex is also discussed in the literature. Landy (1959:63), for example, notes that in the evenings females of all ages were confined to the home while boys and men frequented the *cafet  ns*. Seda (1958:11) also notes that no restrictions are placed on men's social relationships outside the home but that women's social life is restricted to the home. Safa (1974:62) mentions the fact that when people socialize, there is a tendency for the sexes to separate and for the women to gather separately. While Safa's observations refer to lower-class gatherings, G. Lewis (1963:267) makes the following observation about middle-class gatherings:

...For there are few common activities to bind together the partners even of many a middle-class household. The uneasy balance of interests reflects itself in the sexual segregation that takes place so conspicuously at parties in middle-class homes, with the men discussing politics in one group and the women discussing children in another.

Padilla (1964/1958:157) makes the observation that generally meals are not taken together by all family members; rather, the males are usually served alone. Wolf (1956:223) also mentions that husbands and wives rarely eat their meals together.

Another characteristic of Puerto Rican sex roles which is mentioned by some authors is a general lack of communication between husbands and wives. Wagenheim (1972:211) asserts that communication between husbands and wives is limited in later years. Safa (1974:43) also remarked on the social distance between husbands and wives. G. Lewis (1963:265) describes "a rigid wall of psychological separation between the sexes at practically every stage of life." Sydney Mintz (1966:411) summarizes the literature and states:

Almost all of the authors who write on the Puerto Rican family stress the lack of communication between husbands and wives...From babyhood on, boys and girls are kept separate and each is taught to associate only with members of his own sex. Boys and girls share no common activities, and when they finally come together in courtship, the roles played by each are very different. Marriage merely continues the pattern. Husbands and wives each have their own roles and in very traditional families there is no need for communication between them. They share few activities, and so there is almost nothing to be discussed. When decisions have to be made, the husband dictates and the wife submits.

Later (p.425) Mintz again emphasizes the lack of communication between the sexes and the strict separation throughout life, although he qualifies these statements by remarking that these traditional behavior are in a process of rapid change.

Fox (1973:281), writing on Cuban immigrants, discusses the different domains of the two sexes:

Fundamental to the émigré workers' conception of sexual roles is the distinction between *casa*, the house, home and household, and *calle*, literally the "street" but generally the entire world outside the doors of the *casa*. The *casa* is generally considered the province of the woman, and many men habitually refer to *su casa* in a context which means "her house." *La calle* is seen as the proper testing ground for masculinity, but it is dangerous and inappropriate for women. Because *la calle* embraces everything outside the home, the role of the woman is narrowly restricted indeed.

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:53-54) also note that men tend to seek male company, and that women's socializing is primarily restricted to the home. Estellie Smith (1968:123), describing a Cuban social gathering in Miami, notes that the men and the women went to separate sides of the room, that women served the men first, and that men decided when it was time to leave.

A number of authors discuss how Hispanic sex roles are changing, both in general and in particular in the United States. Others demonstrate, as do Safa (1980) and Cohen (1979), that cultural reality is in fact very different from cultural ideology. At the same time, there is evidence that Hispanic sex roles and social differentiation by sex continues to differ,

perhaps in increasingly subtle ways, from patterns which characterize the larger society.

Clark (1959:149) and Madsen (1973:53) point out that Mexican American behavior deviates from the culturally stipulated ideals for sex roles. Madsen (1973:53), for example, points out that even though women are supposed to be highly submissive and obedient to men, that in reality they are highly skilled manipulators of their men. A wife's indirect control over her husband is described in the life history material presented by the Coles (1978:127-178). Grebler and his associates (1970:360) emphasize the point that with contact, acculturation and assimilation, sex roles in Mexican American culture are changing in the direction of those more typical for the larger society. The awareness of the need to change the position of women in Mexican American culture is demonstrated by the title of a recent book on the topic, *Twice a Minority* (Melville, 1980), which explores women's issues.

One aspect of traditional sex roles which seems to endure is the association of domestic work with women. Achor (1978:74), in a recent study, describes how women continue to be responsible for domestic chores and how men are loathe to do anything which they consider to be "women's work." Even the Grebler (1970:363) study, which emphasized change, remarked that men still refused to do household chores such as washing the dishes because these are symbolically female tasks.

Psychological studies also suggest that social differentiation by sex continues to be significant in Mexican American culture. A 1974 study by Laosa, Swartz and Diaz-Guerrero explored sexual differentiation in a study with human drawing data for 394 Mexican and U.S. Anglo children. They found (p.131): "Cultural differences in rearing practices linked with sex of child were reflected in the poorer degree of sexual differentiation in the drawings of Anglo-American children, as compared with Mexican children." Data

gathered by means of the Semantic Differential Test (Martinez, 1977:32) seemed to support the stereotypic notion that differences between male and female roles are more culturally distinct for Mexican Americans than for Anglos.

Padilla (1964/1958:59-64) discusses changes in sex roles for Puerto Ricans living on the mainland. She describes how the Puerto Ricans observed, particularly new migrants, that Puerto Rican women in New York were becoming more free in their behavior and beginning to do things like smoke and drink. Some of her informants expressed the opinion that these types of behaviors meant that the women were no longer "good"; others observed that their wives were getting too independent. Another study which shows many aspects of change is the book *The Sober Generation* (Marina et al., 1969) which explores in depth the lives of a small group of high achieving middle-class children. Oscar Lewis' (1966:xxvii; xlviii) interpretation is somewhat different than other authors. He links the wide-spread belief in male superiority to the sub-culture of poverty.

Moreno (1971:478), writing on Cuban values, emphasizes that despite the traditional Hispanic sexual mores, Cuban women had achieved a high level of equality in comparison to other Latin American nations. He notes that Cuban women received the right to vote in 1934, and that the percentage of women in the labor force was and is probably higher than for other Latin American nations.

Changes in traditional Cuban sex roles is emphasized by a number of authors. Rogg (1974:73-76;106), writing on Cubans in New Jersey, notes the changes which have occurred because Cuban women in the United States are increasingly working outside the home. She states that this situation of working wives strains traditional male roles. She notes that males lose prestige and influence while women gain power and influence. The change is also frequently a strain for the women, because they continue to try to

fulfill their roles as homemakers as well. Domestic responsibilities frequently carried out by servants in Cuba are now generally the sole responsibility of wives who work jobs as well.

Pérez (1980:259) notes the following changes:

...The courtship patterns of prerevolutionary Cuba, especially the strict supervision of unmarried women, are undergoing change...the norms and values surrounding courtship are still somewhat more conservative than those in U.S. society as a whole, a situation that tends to limit the range of potential mates largely to other Cubans.

Generalizing, Perez notes that after more than a decade of U.S. residence, immigrants' customs have been noticeably liberalized. Gil (1976:98-99) also suggests that while core values have remained, there is definitely a trend toward change.

Lack of change in the definitions of proper sex roles is emphasized by Lewis (1978) in a section previously quoted on Cuba, and by Fox (1973) who suggests that one of the reasons that the working class Cuban males wanted to leave Cuba was the threat to their self-esteem because of the revolution's program to alter traditional sex roles.

The difference between cultural ideology and cultural reality for Hispanics is demonstrated by Cohen (1979) and Safa (1980). Cohen emphasizes the many strengths of Hispanic women, and Safa provides data on Hispanic female involvement in the labor force.

Lastly, one must mention that Szalay's (1978) research with word association provides the rather startling conclusion that Hispanic social differentiation by sex is less strong than is true for the dominant society. He notes:

The popular image of Hispanic "machismo" is almost completely absent in the data on family life and expectations and in fact, it is the Anglo American male who is described in terms of a more authoritarian and sex differentiated role. (p.49)

...We found that Anglo Americans more frequently emphasize sexual identification and perceive a stronger contrast between the two sexes. They pay more attention to physical differences and are more inclined to see the man in the role of husband and the woman in the role of wife. They also capitalize more on attributes which differentiate man from woman: they see the man as leader and head and woman as housewife, soft, warm, etc. Finally, the Anglo Americans tend to identify themselves in terms of their sexual identity. (p.84)

It is somewhat hard to understand Szalay's statements in light of the literature reviewed in this section. It may be that social differentiation by sex is so obvious to Hispanics that they do not think to mention it when asked for word associations.

Social Differentiation By Age

Introduction and Summary

All cultures make social differentiations on the basis of age. Again what interests us here is the degree to which a culture emphasizes age as a significant attribute in shaping interpersonal interactions. From material already presented in previous sections, and material about to be presented here, one can tentatively conclude that social differentiation by age is quite important in Hispanic culture.

Respect for one's parents and those older is a theme which appears in the literature on various Hispanic groups. There is a fairly consistent portrait of the Hispanic family as organized hierarchically by sex and age.

A special respect and veneration for the elderly is also described as an aspect of Hispanic culture. A number of authors discuss how it was customary to keep one's aging parents in one's home where they continued to help in the household and were cared for when sick. The elderly traditionally expected to have a major influence upon other family members.

The break-down of this pattern of respect and care for the elderly in the United States is discussed by several authors. This problem is mentioned most specifically by the literature on Cuban Americans and relates to the higher percentage of elderly in the Cuban population. Changing patterns in respect for the elderly are also mentioned for Puerto Ricans, and are probably occurring among Mexican Americans as well. One might assume, tentatively, that the process of "Americanization" would signify a decrease in social differentiation by age in general. Adoption of Anglo American norms would suggest an increasing emphasis on youth.

Discussion of Social Differentiation By Age

Almost all authors observe that respect in Mexican American culture is awarded primarily on the basis of sex and age. Henderson (1979:112), Rubel (1970:214), Kagan (1977:78), Madsen (1973:19) and others observe that respect for those older than oneself is a basic principle of Mexican American life. Edmonson (1957:53) states:

...The principle of age seniority in Hispano culture stands in sharpest contrast with the "accent on youth" in general American culture, and there is no doubt but what this is an attitude which is held with some intensity.

Several authors observe that the Mexican American family is organized in an age hierarchy. Goodman and Beman (1968:88) report that respect in the home is closely linked with age, deference being given to those older. They also observe that grandparents are very influential. Madsen (1973:19) observes that the older command the younger. Achor (1978:76) and Heller (1968:35) describe how older siblings are frequently expected to care for younger siblings. Responsibility for younger siblings is combined with authority over them. The principle of age hierarchy is further illustrated by the special importance of the eldest son who may take on the authority role within the family in the absence of the father. Relations between brothers, according to Madsen (1973:56), are determined by age: younger brothers are expected to show proper respect to their elders which generally means that they do not play or joke around together.

The topic of the respect which children learn to show their parents and other elders is discussed elsewhere (see Power Distance). The general principle, according to Mead (1953:174) is that age is valued and honored. Kagan (1977:78) notes that the literature shows that Mexican American children are brought up to respect the authority of their elders.

Another aspect of social differentiation by age is the tendency of people to interact in peer groups with others of the same sex and age

(Achor, 1978:42). Clark (1959:23) observed that in the *barrio*, people grouped into age grades even more than Anglos did. She also notes that it was hard to mix people of different ages in an organization.

Elderly people are apparently accorded more respect in Mexican American culture than in Anglo culture. Romano (1960:970) describes how men who reached the age of 80 or over received the honorific title of *Don* merely on the basis of age alone. Generally the literature supports the notion that Mexican American families are "devoted" to their elderly members (Clark 1959:145). Achor (1978) observed that as a rule, the elderly remained with their families where they continued to do useful work. When they were ill, they were cared for in the home.

Similar themes are repeated for Puerto Rican culture. Padilla (1964/1958:149) observes that the lines of authority in the Puerto Rican family go from father to mother and from there from the older to the younger children. There is a stress on respect for those older than oneself. Padilla (1964/1958:177) explains:

...As soon as a child starts to walk, he begins to hear about the respect he owes his elders - the concept of respect claims that a child not transgress the bounds of whatever adults expect of him, that he must obey without question and accept docily the decisions of authorities, namely his parents and elders.

In another passage, quoted elsewhere, Padilla explains how a person, even if poor, will receive increasing amounts of respect as he or she gets older.

Diaz-Royo (1974:205-206; 211), whose research was carried in rural island setting, also makes observations regarding the respect due to those older than oneself. He notes that ordinary conversations were filled with statements such as: (Spanish deleted)

"Children ought to respect their elders."

"One ought to respect persons who are older."

"Older siblings must be respected."

He concludes: "As an emerging citizen of this world of *respeto* the Jobos child must obey his elders immediately, ideally comply with their commands no matter how absurd."

Landy (1959) also comments on the respect which Puerto Rican children learn that they owe their elders. He further notes (p. 49) that the honorific titles, *Don* and *Doña*, are reserved within each class for those of a superior age, although lower-class people use the titles with all persons of a higher class regardless of age. Landy (1959:93-94) points to a decrease in the attention and care given to the elderly: "Even the time-honored respect and veneration for the aged seem to have evaporated in the face of acquired needs for the wonderful things from the United States and increasing insecurity." Landy claims that old age, which had traditionally been honored, was becoming feared by most people.

The theme of respect for the elderly is also found in the literature on Cuban culture. Alum (1977:13) claims that while Cubans are not as age grade minded as Anglo Americans, the elderly are revered and are almost always cared for at home. He says that Cubans find the notion of placing the elderly in a nursing home to be shocking because of their sense of moral indebtedness and kinship attachments.

Pérez (1980:259) elaborates on how it is a traditional Cuban value to keep one's elderly parents in the home:

...When the elderly, particularly the widowed, arrived in the United States, their adult children, in keeping with traditional Cuban values, could not permit them to live alone or to be institutionalized. Because so many Cuban women work, the elderly also are important as housekeepers and babysitters...Nonetheless, many of the elderly do have to live by themselves or in institutions. Their needs and their status as dependents are a major problem for the Cuban community in Miami.

Pérez notes that part of the reason there is such a preponderance of Cuban elderly is related to the age selectivity of Cuban immigration, young men of military age being kept in Cuba.

Changing patterns, mentioned by Pérez (1980) for Cubans and Landy (1959) for Puerto Ricans, are further discussed by Szapocznik (1980) in an article on problems of the Cuban elderly:

For many of these elderly, the expectation of a respected and dignified role within the extended family is a major source of meaning. They expect that in their sunset years they will be the ultimate authority figure and major contributors to their family's well-being. The reality, however, has turned out very differently. Apparently, the intergenerational differences in acculturation have accelerated the disruption of nuclear and extended families and caused these elders to become isolated from their own children and grandchildren. What was once a valued role for the elderly, to be an authority figure in the family, is now considered by their modern Americanized children and grandchildren as interference in the family's internal affairs. Furthermore, confronted by the many additional stresses induced by exile, they have become a burden to their families rather than a source of support.

Hence, the literature suggests that this basic principle of respect for one's elders may be changing in the U.S. context. This is most strongly noted in the literature on Cuban Americans, and may also be true for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Social differentiation by age is more muted in Anglo American culture. As many writers have pointed out, the United States is predominantly a youth-oriented culture. Insofar as Hispanic Americans move toward the values and ways of behaving characteristic of the larger society, one can hypothesize an increasingly diminution of social differentiation of the basis of age.

Social Differentiation By Race

Introduction and Summary

In order to examine the degree to which a culture makes social differentiations by race we must examine the definition of social race employed by each particular society. The criteria for defining social race can include various aspects, such as physical appearance (skin color, hair, etc.), ancestry, and even socio-cultural characteristics (language, costume, etc.). It is important to remember that different societies define social race differently.

Wagley's (1965) classic article provides an excellent framework for discussing social race in the Americas. He notes that the early colonial systems of social differentiation by race were relatively complex. They shared an emphasis on physical appearance and ancestry and to a lesser degree, socio-cultural characteristics. He explains that over time with continual miscegenation these systems became too complex and that in the 17th and 18th centuries there was a process of simplification where one criterion became primary.

In the United States ancestry became the primary criterion for defining social race. One drop of Negro blood made a person a Negro. Physical appearance as a criterion decreased in importance. In Mexico, Guatemala and probably the other highland countries, socio-cultural characteristics became primary. Indians were defined primarily as persons who acted like Indians; by changing dress, language and customs an individual or even a village could change from being Indian to being *mestizo*. Purity of ancestry was primarily a concern of elite families. In Brazil and the Caribbean physical appearance became the primary criterion for social definitions of race. Societies were not divided into black and white, or Indian and *mestizo*, but rather there was a continuum of types from Negro through white. Another important point about

the Caribbean system is that race was confounded with class; physical appearance was but one of a number of criteria which were used to determine social status.

It seems fairly clear from the literature review that Hispanic Americans bring with them these different perceptions of social race which contrast to a certain extent with the types of social differentiations by race made in the United States. As might be expected, the literature on Mexican Americans does not even deal very much with the topic of social race. One may assume that the majority of Mexican Americans are *mestizos* who may or may not wish to acknowledge their Indian heritage. Social differentiation by race among Mexican Americans does not appear to be particularly important. A number of studies, however, do explore the attitudes of Mexican Americans toward American Blacks. While some studies suggest that Mexican Americans are somewhat more tolerant of Blacks than Anglos, the majority of authors suggest considerable social distance between Mexican Americans and Anglo Blacks.

The Puerto Rican literature on race and race relations is more elaborated. Most authors make three main points. One is that Puerto Ricans emphasize the criterion of physical appearance rather than ancestry. Second, that Puerto Rican society is not divided into just black and white but contains a number of intermediate groups and categories. And third, a number of authors discuss the confounding of race and class. Some authors argue that social differentiation by class is far more important than by racial characteristics. The majority of authors also agree that Puerto Ricans are highly color conscious, although authors do not seem to agree on the type and amount of racial prejudice in the system.

A number of authors discuss the problems which result when Puerto Ricans confront the system of social differentiation by race in the United States. A few authors note that it is mulattoes who seem to have the most difficulty with the simple, two-category (black-and-white) system of North America. Lastly, several authors discuss Puerto Rican attitudes toward American Blacks. Similar

to what was stated for Mexican Americans, authors suggest considerable social distance between Puerto Ricans and Anglo Blacks.

The outlines of the Cuban system of social differentiation by race seem to be similar to those described for Puerto Rico, however a number of authors seem to suggest that there was more racism in Cuba than in Puerto Rico. Another point of interest is that the refugees after 1959 were predominantly white, hence, the literature rarely discusses racial issues. There is little discussion in the literature on Cuban attitudes toward Anglo Blacks, although one author notes that they try to avoid contact with them. In summary, it appears that Cuban racial attitudes and perceptions are similar to those described for Puerto Rico, particularly in terms of the emphasis on physical appearance, the absence of legal discrimination and the confounding of class and race. However, Cuban society is generally described as more racist than Puerto Rican society.

Discussion

Our discussion of social differentiation by race refers to social rather than biological race. We draw on the definition of Van Den Berghe (1970:10) who defines race as:

...not a subspecies of homo sapiens but a group of people who in a given society are socially defined as different from other groups by virtue of certain real or putative physical characteristics.

Wagley (1965:351) also emphasized that "social race" is socially and culturally defined: "The term 'social race' is used because these groups or categories are socially, not biologically, defined in all of our American societies, although the terms by which they are labeled may have originally referred to biological characteristics." Hence, whether or not a group pays attention to characteristics of race must be understood in terms of how a given society defines its social races. As we will see, there is a good deal of variation in how social races are defined throughout the Americas.

Wagley's (1965) article on the development and distribution of concepts of social race in the Americas provides the historical background and a framework for understanding contemporary writings on race perceptions. To begin with, he notes that everywhere in the Americas, in varying proportions, three basic racial stocks - Amerindians of Mongoloid derivation, African Negroids and European Caucasoids - were mixed via miscegenation. This produced a hybrid population and it also produced "a complicated social hierarchy in which racial appearance or ancestry was perhaps the most important criterion of rank."

According to Wagley, the 17th and 18th century systems of classifications of peoples in the Americas shared certain characteristics. These were a primary emphasis on the criteria of physical appearance and ancestry. Socio-cultural differences between the groups was also implied. The system of social hierarchy was relatively simple: Europeans on top, mixed people intermediary, and Blacks and Indians on the bottom. Wagley describes (1965:534-535) the relatively elaborate systems of terminology used in Mexico, Haiti, and the southern United States. In the southern United States, for example, he notes that there were different terms with different implications for people of varying degrees of mixture and appearance, such as mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, and "mustie" (near white). However, for a number of reasons, one of which was the sheer complexity involved in keeping track of increasingly complex mixtures, these systems of classification became unworkable. The 19th century saw everywhere a simplification of systems of classification into social races.

The simplification, Wagley explains as follows: There were three basic types of criteria used for definitions of social race in the Americas and these were *ancestry*, *socio-cultural characteristics*, and *physical appearance*. Different regions simplified their systems of classification by emphasizing

one of these and de-emphasizing or even ignoring the other two. In the southern United States, as we know, ancestry became all important and a drop of Negro "blood" was enough to make a person a Negro. In Mexico, Guatemala, and probably the Andean region, socio-cultural variables, such as dress, language, customs, became primary. And in Brazil and the Caribbean physical appearance was emphasized.

Wagley (1965:537) observes that the United States differs from the rest of Latin America in its almost exclusive use of ancestry in defining social race. He notes:

...The dominant whites were able to establish a rule of descent based upon ancestry which states that anyone who has a known Negro ancestor is a Negro. This rule became a law in many southern states. Thus, the system of classification of people by social race was reduced to a twofold castelike system of "Negroes" and "whites."

In a system of this type the gradations of physical appearance do not count for much, except that a very white looking person can "pass" as white. The continual growth of the Negro group and segregation between the two groups were facilitated under these premises. As Wagley points out, systematic segregation in a system with more than two social races would have been very complicated.

In Mexico and Guatemala, and probably Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, the emphasis was on socio-cultural criteria. Ancestry and physical appearance were far less important, almost to the point of being ignored. Wagley notes (p. 538):

...In this region the emphasis has been placed mainly on the criteria of social and cultural status, almost to the point of ignoring the criterion of physical appearance. Furthermore, except within certain local communities, ancestry as a criterion for membership in a social race has little or no importance. In each of these countries, there continues to be a relatively numerous segment of the population classified as *indigenas* or Indians, an intermediate social race called mestizos in Mexico and Ladino in Guatemala, and finally a social race which we might call the whites. The

difficulty in distinguishing between Indian and mestizo (or Ladino) on any basis except social and cultural criteria such as language, custom, community membership, costume, and self-identification is well known and need not be restated here. It is enough to say that physical appearance seldom serves as a criterion to classify a person in one of these two groups.

A person or a community is Indian because they speak and act and dress as if they were. However, by changing their customs, an individual or a whole community can change from one classification to another. A system such as this, as Wagley points out, is inherently more flexible and contains the seeds for its own destruction, unlike the system in the United States which operates to perpetuate itself. Lastly, one must make note that ancestry also functions in this system, primarily in reference to the elite families who claim "pure" European descent.

In Brazil and the Caribbean the emphasis is on physical appearance rather than ancestry or socio-cultural characteristics. White characteristics are considered most desirable and Negroid characteristics least desirable. In these regions miscegenation has been extensive and there often exists a rather elaborate terminology for describing an individual's position on the continuum from white to Negro features. It is to this emphasis on physical appearance that Oracy Nogueira (1955) was referring when he contrasted Brazilian *preconceito racial de marca* (racial prejudice of appearance) with North American *preconceito racial de origem* (racial prejudice of ancestry).

Two other extremely important aspects of the Brazil-Caribbean system need to be mentioned. One is that since individuals range along a continuum, they do not form into discrete and coherent groups as do Indians and mestizos in Mexico, or Negroes and whites in the United States. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the determination of an individual's place in the social hierarchy is determined by *both* color and class. As Carl Degler (1971:105) notes: "Color is important but not decisive, as in the United States." Wagley

(p. 541-542) elaborates:

...They are a way of describing and classifying individuals according to physical appearance, but this is but one way that these societies classify people. The position of an individual in the hierarchy of social race combined with education, economic status, occupation, family connections, even manners and artistic abilities places one in his or her proper rank. Each of the categories of social race is divided by socioeconomic classes although it must be said that the largest proportion of Negroes are in the lower classes and the majority of the upper class is white since educational and economic opportunities for mobility have not been generalized. Thus, neither Negroes, mulattoes, *pardos*, whites or any other social race acts as a group nor attempts to improve their situation as a group. This situation is thus less conducive to discrimination and segregation on the basis of social race. Yet given the presence of relatively rigid socioeconomic classes deriving out of the colonial period, class discrimination and segregation often functions in a manner superficially similar to "racial" discrimination and segregation.

In other words, social ranking is determined partly by physical appearance and partly by other criteria, such as wealth, education and occupation. As Degler (1971:105) notes: "Brazilians say, 'money whitens,' although it takes a good deal to whiten a full-blooded Negro...(Once 'whitened' by money, a 'Negro' becomes a 'mulatto' or 'pardo' regardless of his actual color. A significant commentary on the meaning of Negro or blackness in itself.)"

Such flexibility does not mean that people are not color conscious; numerous writers on Brazil and the Caribbean describe a rather high level of color consciousness. Since in most places the darker skinned people are predominantly lower-class and the upper class is predominantly white, racial characteristics become almost coterminous with social class considerations. Exceptions are possible, but unlike the United States where a successful Black is still considered Black, the successful darker skinned person in Brazil is sociologically whitened, people either politely ignoring his "low" appearance or assigning him to a lighter category. As Wagley points out, this type of system is conducive to individual mobility.

Drawing on the previous discussion, it should be clear that Hispanic Americans

come from societies which define social race differently from the U.S. In its simplest outlines, Mexican Americans derive from a society in which socio-cultural criteria are primary, and Caribbean people derive from societies in which physical appearance combined with social class attributes determines rank. Immigrants and their descendents confront the North American system based on ancestry and divided into Black and white. These perceptual differences can, and according to the literature, do cause problems. Problems are compounded because many Hispanic Americans are of mixed origins and darker skinned. Hispanics with Negroid features, the literature reports, have a particularly difficult time in the United States.

There is remarkably little material in the literature on Mexican American perceptions of social race. From this, one can conclude tentatively that social differentiation by race is relatively unimportant in Mexican American culture.

Few authors discuss Mexican American attitudes toward variations in social race among themselves. Tuck (1974/1946) claims that since all are mestizo there is no preoccupation with skin color. This fits with Wagley's generalizations for Mexico and Guatemala.

The Grebler study (1970:320-321) discusses the historical emphasis on ancestry and appearance:

The Spanish-Mexican class structure in the Southwest, as in Mexico, was a complicated mixture of colonialism and racism. While Mexico was under Spanish rule - and long after - Spaniards outranked native-born Mexicans of Spanish descent, who in turn outranked *mestizos*, or mixed-bloods, who in turn outranked Indians. Status distinctions were based on "blood", with Spain allocating "rights" and privileges according to "purity of blood" calculated to 64 to 128 parts. Basic "blood" distinctions were comparatively visible and were further reinforced by originally correlated but increasingly independent distinctions based, for example, on surname and clothing. "Blood" continues to be a status preoccupation in Mexico despite an official ideology emphasizing "Indianism" and despite the fact that only a small minority of the population is classified as either "pure" Indian or "pure" white.

Hence, as previously discussed, the early system of social race was based on

ancestry and appearance, although as suggested in the above passage, socio-cultural criteria such as clothing later took on additional importance as racial mixing continued.

The Grebler study (1970:583) also notes a tendency on the part of socially mobile individuals to avoid identification as "Mexicans" - equated with the Indian heritage - and to adopt a "Spanish" ancestry. They claim that this phenomenon is a result of conforming to Anglo prejudice and racism. However, it is clear that the preoccupation of the elite with its supposed European lineage is longstanding, hence the concern of those aspiring to the elite. One may hypothesize that while socio-cultural criteria became primary, concern with ancestry continued to be a sub-theme. Given the North American preoccupation with ancestry, it is also logical that this concern is accentuated in the United States.

Lastly, the Grebler study mentions that the traditional genteel denial of the Indian heritage is now being replaced, primarily among the middle-class, by attempts to explore the meaning of Indianess.

A few studies on Mexican Americans touch on their attitudes toward North American Blacks. Achor (1978:77;122) notes, for Dallas, that Mexican Americans formed some inter-ethnic friendships in high school but that these friendships tended to be with Anglos rather than Blacks. She also observed that those she labeled "accommodationists" tended to seek relationships beyond ethnic boundaries, except with Blacks who were viewed negatively, as lazy and immoral. The Grebler study (1970:392-394), carried out in Los Angeles and San Antonio, concluded that Mexican Americans were *not* tolerant of Anglo Blacks. They note:

...But Mexican Americans in all three cities accept Negroes less than Bakersfield Negroes do Mexican Americans in all social contexts. And, notably, most Mexican Americans in all three cities were opposed to party sociability. The San Antonio and Los Angeles respondents were overwhelmingly opposed to intermarriage with Negroes.

There is really no substantial reason, apart from claims of some spokesmen, to expect Mexican Americans to be particularly tolerant toward Negroes. The Mexican tradition is not one of tolerance: A recent study of a rural sample in Mexico shows feelings of great social distance not only toward Negroes, but also toward Protestants, Jews, and Indians. The Texas and for that matter California tradition probably does little to ameliorate racism. The inter-city differences in attitudes toward Negroes also underline the fact that Mexican Americans learn much from other Americans around them.

Madsen (1973:13) also notes that Mexican Americans resent being classified with Negroes as colored and that there is little contact between Mexican Americans and Anglo Blacks. He claims that Mexican Americans feel no hostility toward Blacks but that they would not want their daughters to marry Blacks.

Davidson and Gaitz (1973:740-741) conclude that Mexican Americans are generally *more* tolerant of Negroes than Anglos. Using a Bogardus type social distance instrument on a total sample of 697 persons, they concluded that Mexican Americans generally were more tolerant and sympathetic, and expressed greater tolerance for every kind of interaction with Negroes than Anglos. However, when questioned about intermarriage, 90% of the Anglos rejected the idea and 84% of the Mexican Americans rejected intermarriage with Negroes.

There are also several references in the literature to Mexican American resentment against being classified as "colored" by Anglos. This resentment is only logical since Mexican American culture clearly does not make the same black-and-white distinctions characteristic of Anglo society. Given the general low status and discriminations against Blacks in U.S. society, resentment of such a classification seems justified. However, the majority of the literature indicates that for the most part Anglos tend to place Mexican Americans in a "foreign" rather than a "Negro" category.

In contrast to Mexican Americans, the literature on Puerto Ricans contains extensive discussions of concepts and attitudes toward social race. As Barry Levine (1980:xxxiii) has noted, the majority of these discussions center around two basic points. One is that while the U.S. system classifies people

into two groups - black and white - the Puerto Rican system allows for the classification of a range of types along a continuum. Secondly, while North Americans tend to classify by ancestry (by "blood"), Puerto Ricans tend to classify by physical appearance. A third important point made by many authors is the observation that one can not discuss Puerto Rican concepts of social race without discussing social class.

Many authors discuss the difference between the black/white distinctions made by U.S. society, and the more complicated system of classification of Puerto Rican society. Fitzpatrick (1971:101-114), for example, notes that Puerto Rican concepts of social race are more "open" and complex. Mintz (1966: 374-406) states that it is clear that Puerto Rico is not divided into black and white, that there is no twofold castelike system, and that the terminology used to refer to racial types is elaborated. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:132) stress the differences: "The Puerto Ricans are not paragons of democratic color attitudes, but in contrast with American prejudices they show a very different picture."

Eduardo Seda (1966:106) sees three, rather than two basic social races.

..Yet, instead of a twofold black and white classification, assumed as legitimate codification by some American writers, we found three socially differentiated categories: a black category, an intermediate category and a white category.

Gordon Lewis (1963:284-285) discusses "shade" discrimination, and points out a number of euphemisms used to refer to racial admixtures, such as *pardo*, *moreno* and *trigueno*.² Franklin (1981:7) contrasts the black/white system of the United States with the many "rich and subtle color distinctions" made by Puerto Ricans.

Authors contrast the North American focus on ancestry with the Puerto Rican emphasis on physical appearance. Seda (1966:110) states:

² Approximate translations of these terms would be: *pardo* meaning mulatto, *moreno* meaning brunette, and *trigueno* meaning wheat colored.

The coded meaning of a number of socially significant attributes of identity and social status in the United States often involves assumptions which find no legitimate counterpart in Latin America. In the area of racial identity, Americans assume as legitimate grounds for claims of white social status, the absence of Negro "blood", i.e. "pure" white ancestry; however Latin Americans assume the legitimacy of racial identities intermediate to those of white and Negro, Americans assume a two-class system in which physical appearance conveys no social significance.

Mintz (1966:405) also describes the emphasis on physical appearance, observing that Puerto Ricans are very aware of physical differences. He also notes that "Negro" features are considered undesirable and that "white" features are prized. Gordon Lewis (1963:283) makes a similar point, noting that in the United States one drop of "colored" blood makes one a Negro, whereas in the Caribbean one drop of "white" blood can "launch an individual on the road to social acceptance as white."

The majority of authors agree that Puerto Ricans are highly color conscious, although authors do not agree on the type and amount of racial prejudice and discrimination in the system. Manners (1956:152-156) for example, states that Puerto Ricans are very color conscious but at least in the lower-class there is very little racism. Padilla (1956:291) noted that workers were very conscious of racial characteristics but she observed that color differences do not usually form the basis for discrimination. Landy (1959:33) states that race is not a major social problem, nevertheless, "there is a good deal of racial consciousness or color consciousness."

The official ideology or belief in Puerto Rico is that there is no problem with race prejudice (Lewis, 1963:281). Oscar Lewis (1966:xvi) observed that Puerto Ricans are proud of the racial integration on the island. Tumin's (1971:237-239) research concluded that skin color was considerably less important in Puerto Rico than in the United States, and that the majority of people did not feel discriminated against:

Whatever the objective facts, there is little subjective feeling of discrimination among the Negroes. Nor does class

impinge in the expected way. If anything, it seems that the lower the class, the higher the percent who feel quite assured about the irrelevance of skin color for a chance to make their way in life. (p. 237)

Once more, we must conclude that except for a small portion who feel that being white or mulatto brings them greater opportunities, the majority of Puerto Ricans of all colors and class do not assign much significance to skin color as it bears upon opportunities in the society. (p. 238)

The study concludes that most people believed that skin color did not effect their opportunities, except for in the area of jobs. Despite this general belief, Tumin concludes that skin color is a subtle, minor but insistent theme in Puerto Rican life.

Glazer and Moynihan (1963:132-135) also assert that "color prejudice has played little part" in Puerto Rican history. Their major point is that while there is some color discrimination on the island, it is more a discrimination against the poor, the workers and the miserable. However, they also note that the all-white social clubs of the upper-class predated the U.S. occupation.

The nature of discrimination and prejudice in Puerto Rican society is generally described as milder and more subtle than its counterpart in the United States. Furthermore, the issue is compounded with social class which some authors argue is more important than skin color.

Mintz (1966:372-406) argues that Puerto Rican race prejudice does exist, albeit in a different and milder form than in the United States. He asserts that this prejudice had a particular character in which social status, not color, was the axis of prejudice. Physical appearance, as noted previously in Wagley's analysis, was but one of the criteria which determined social status. Mintz asserts that distinctions by socioeconomic position or class were the most important. He notes:

...The undesirability of Negro traits is social in origin, and stems from the fact that Negroes were once slaves and, even now, are largely concentrated in the lower classes. There is discrimination against people with markedly Negro traits in Puerto Rico, but the degree of this discrimination varies considerably from situation to situation. (p. 405)

Later, Mintz again asserts that "part of the discrimination that is directed against Negroes is based on social or class prejudice."

Gordon Lewis (1963:283-285) also elaborates on the nature of discrimination in Puerto Rico which he calls "shade" discrimination. He argues that it is not less real because it is subtle, complex and difficult to analyze.

Lewis states:

But how far does all this amount to a genuine racial democracy? Very little, perhaps, in any complete way. For racial tensions do not have to assume the forms of physical violence or of overt segregationism or even of open political expression before they can be said to exist. In Puerto Rico, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, they express themselves more subtly through the vehicle of racial intermediacy, the discreet but very real sense of color snobbishness based upon awareness of "shades". So, whereas in the U.S. one drop of "colored" blood designates one as a Negro, in Latin America and the Caribbean one drop of "white" blood can launch an individual on the road to social acceptance as white. The consequence of this difference is of course to protect the Caribbean colored persons from the evils of "white supremacy." At the same time, it also serves to impose upon him a heavy burden of emotional insecurity. For the American Negro...knows where he stands; his Puerto Rican brother is daily confronted with the torture of an ambivalent racial identity. (p. 283)

Lewis continues on to document, by means of popular sayings, what he describes as an attitude, at best, of genial contempt for Negroes. He argues that the "shade" discrimination and polite terms for racial admixtures do not "disguise the fact that social acceptance goes hand in hand with the degree of whiteness." The forms of the subtle discrimination are described by Lewis:

...The real bar in Puerto Rico comes from the existence of an elaborate and subtle system of informal social pressures and prohibitions based upon an ambivalent attitude to color...There is, of course, no open denigration of color. (p. 285)

Williams (1972:42-44) discusses the fact that there is no legal discrimination in Puerto Rico. He notes that the law recognizes no differences based on race, color, creed, national origin or previous condition. He remarks on the mixed colors to be seen in public places, churches, vehicles and so forth. He notes that lynchings were unheard of. Williams argues, similar to Mintz, that

the issue in the Caribbean is class rather than race. He notes: "Puerto Ricans talk not so much of 'the colored race' but of 'the colored class.'" However, Williams also points out, as do Glazer & Moynihan (1963:134), that while Negroes were equal under the law, socially there existed a race prejudice predating the U.S. presence.

An important point which Williams (1972:44), Fitzpatrick (1971:101-114), Padilla (1964/1958:75), Mintz (1966:372-373) and Glazer and Moynihan (1963:133) make is that in Puerto Rico social class or status is more important than color alone. The strongest social differentiation is in terms of status, and color is but one component which determines a person's overall status position. This is clearly different than in the United States where social differentiation by race played such a central role. But these types of statements do not deny that color and physical characteristics are of some importance in Puerto Rico. Shade and class discrimination may be more complex and subtle, but as Gordon Lewis points out, they are none the less real for being difficult to decipher.

Another point made by many authors, which follows logically from above, is that racial perceptions and behaviors in Puerto Rico vary by socioeconomic class. The lower-classes are generally described as race conscious but not prejudiced. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:132) note:

...In the lower classes, where everyone is poor and without opportunity, there is no strong sense of difference based on color; intermarriage is common, and people are aware of color and hair and facial features as they are aware of any other personal and defining characteristic of an individual.

Mintz (1966:375) notes that for the lower-class, race consciousness is high but race prejudice is rare or absent. And as Tumin (1971:237) points out for his data, the lower the class the less importance the respondents gave to considerations of color for their lives.

However, the same authors note that race prejudice is more characteristic of the upper-classes. Safa (1974:69), for example, reports that the poor claimed that the rich were more racist. Mintz (1966:374) notes: "Social

prejudice of an obvious sort shows itself in some segments of the upper classes, where its baldly racial basis is firm."

A number of authors discuss what happens when Puerto Ricans confront the North American system of social differentiation by race. Fitzpatrick (1971:113) notes that Puerto Ricans in the United States continue to interact and intermarry racially, but that the ones who become middle-class become more sensitive to North American ideas regarding race. Rogler (1972:201) points out that Puerto Ricans migrating to the mainland swiftly learn "the breadth and depth of the American pattern of discrimination." Padilla (1964/1958:75) states that while race was subordinate to social class on the island, in New York race becomes central. She notes that in New York whiteness becomes an important social attribute. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:134) remark that "American color attitudes must have influenced some upper-middle-class Puerto Ricans." Considering what has been said previously, it might be most accurate to say that the upper classes did not learn racial prejudice from Americans, but that the American system reinforces previously existing prejudices. Franklin (1981:7) makes the point that Puerto Ricans in the United States are blocked from becoming "Americanized" because a substantial number of them were dark.

Other authors point out that it is the intermediate physical types, those neither black nor white, who encounter the most difficulty in the United States. Padilla (1964/1958:76) noted that in New York mulattoes seemed to have the most problems. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:134) discuss the findings of C. Wright Mills: "Mills and his colleagues argued in 1950 that the intermediate in color were the least assimilated, most passionately attached to whatever identified them as Puerto Rican because they were not unambiguously white or colored."

Lastly, several authors discuss Puerto Rican attitudes toward North American Blacks. Rogler (1972:201) states that Puerto Ricans do not want their fates tied to that of Blacks. Padilla (1964/1958:76) claims that being

identified as Negro constituted a major threat for Puerto Ricans in New York. Glazer and Moynihan (1963:134) also strongly assert that Puerto Ricans do not want to be identified with American Negroes. They suggest: "...perhaps the Puerto Ricans clung to Spanish so strongly because this differentiated the colored among them from the lower caste in American life." Franklin (1981:7) sees Blacks and Puerto Ricans as two groups on the bottom who are in competition for jobs. He notes that sometimes Puerto Ricans are mistaken as Blacks, "causing them to go great lengths to renounce any affiliation or identification with their African cousins."

There are similarities between the Puerto Rican and the Cuban treatment of the issue of social race. For example, both systems emphasize physical appearance over ancestry, and neither system instituted legal discrimination. However, there also appears to be differences between the two island societies. Some authors seem to suggest that there was more racism in Cuba than in Puerto Rico. Differences, however, are difficult to delineate in part because the topic of social race is treated far less extensively in the Cuban literature reviewed. In general, with the exception of Fox (1971), the literature on Cuban Americans does not focus on the issue of racial perceptions and attitudes. This is probably related to the fact that the Cuban refugees were predominantly white. Portes (1969:507) noted, for example, that while Blacks and mulattoes comprised about 25% of the island population, only 4% of the refugees in 1967 were nonwhite.

Several authors emphasize the point that Cuban race relations differed significantly from North American patterns. Discrimination on the basis of color, however, was important. Moreno (1971:483) notes:

Another area of social interaction in which the older order maintained traditional elitest relations of subordination of one group to another was that of relations between whites and blacks. It has been said that racial discrimination did not exist in Cuba as it exists in the United States. Indeed, institutionalized racism (United States style) did not exist

in Cuba, but racial prejudice did exist, and manifested itself in various ways. The best clubs, clinics, schools, beaches, and parks were reserved exclusively for the whites. Blacks were heavily underrepresented in the professions and better paid occupations...Perhaps the strongest prejudice was that against interracial marriage, particularly among the middle class.

MacGaffey and Barnett (1962:31-48) make similar points about Cuban race relations. They note that while there has never been any explicitly legal discrimination on the basis of color in Cuba, the system nonetheless discriminated against the Blacks and mulattoes. Some of their observations include:

It is commonly stated by Cubans that Cuba has no racial problem; nationalists assert that white Cubans, remembering the achievements in the struggle with Spain of such Negro heroes as Antonio Maceo, regard all Negroes as brothers. Discriminatory hiring practices and exclusion of Negroes from upperclass hotels, resorts, and clubs and from public parks have been blamed on American and Spanish financial interests in alliance with Cuban dictators. Opponents of Castro maintain that he invented the racial issue. It is, however, an old problem which has always become more serious in times of political crisis...Many wry Negro proverbs commenting on the relations between Negroes and whites refer unmistakably to home-grown attitudes of long standing: "The black fought the war, the white enjoys the peace"; "If you see a black and a white together, either the white man needs the black, or else the black has won the lottery." (p. 32)

MacGaffey and Barnett state that prior to 1959 Blacks were excluded from the better hotels, beaches and certain places of entertainment. They note that it was alleged that "systematic discrimination was practiced in the government service, the diplomatic service, the legal profession, and many private undertakings." They observe that there were all-white clubs and also a few Negro clubs. They note that there were sharp antagonisms between Negroes and mulattoes. Lastly, they elaborate on the class to which color considerations were most important:

It was in the middle class that color was given particular importance as a criterion of social status...In general, the middle class considered itself white, in accordance with the view - frequently contrasted by Cubans with that prevailing in the United States - that a man with some white ancestry is not a Negro. A certain degree of social segregation was practiced: friendships with Negroes were not sustained publicly; private schools and the newer residential areas were closed to them.

But there were a few exceptions: individual Negroes with exceptionally high standards of living and education were accepted in white schools and neighborhoods.

Similar to what has been previously stated for the Caribbean and Brazil, physical appearance was but one criterion for determining social status. If an individual achieved enough in other ways, color could be overlooked. Unlike what authors report for Puerto Rico, prerevolutionary Cuba seems to have been characterized by a fairly considerable amount of racial discrimination and even segregation. These behaviors and attitudes, however, appear to have been implicit rather than explicit.

Fox (1971:22-30), in his article on racial attitudes of workingclass Cuban émigres, discusses the historical background of racial discrimination in Cuba. He notes that for over three centuries blackness was identified with slavery and slavery with blackness. He claims that even after abolition in 1898 blacks did not receive full freedom and were excluded from places reserved for tourists and the Cuban bourgeoisie.

Fox explains that the basic position of the whites was to deny that racial discrimination existed in Cuba. He says that this claim gave Cubans a sense of moral superiority over the United States, one which he says came cheap because they knew that Blacks would stay in "their place" even without Jim Crow laws. Whites even found it uncouth to discuss the subject of race. However, Fox claims that the majority of whites he interviewed believed in the inherent inferiority of Blacks. He states that the whites felt that the revolutionary government's policy of integration was offensive.

He also observes that Cuban Blacks and mulattoes also find it embarrassing to discuss the issue of race, preferring often to label race discrimination as class discrimination. He notes (1971:30):

That reference to race are painful to Blacks even in the allegedly "open" societies of Latin America is clear to anyone who has ever had the dubious fortune to overhear a family argument in a mulatto household. When the argument

gets really vicious, the participants begin to refer to each other's supposedly Negroid characteristics, with obvious and devastating effect.

He claims that this suggests that many Cuban Blacks and mulattoes accept the stereotypes of themselves as inferior, hence they are anxious to have people forget about race whether discussed negatively or positively. Lastly, Fox suggests that workers are probably more race conscious than non-competitive peasants in the countryside.

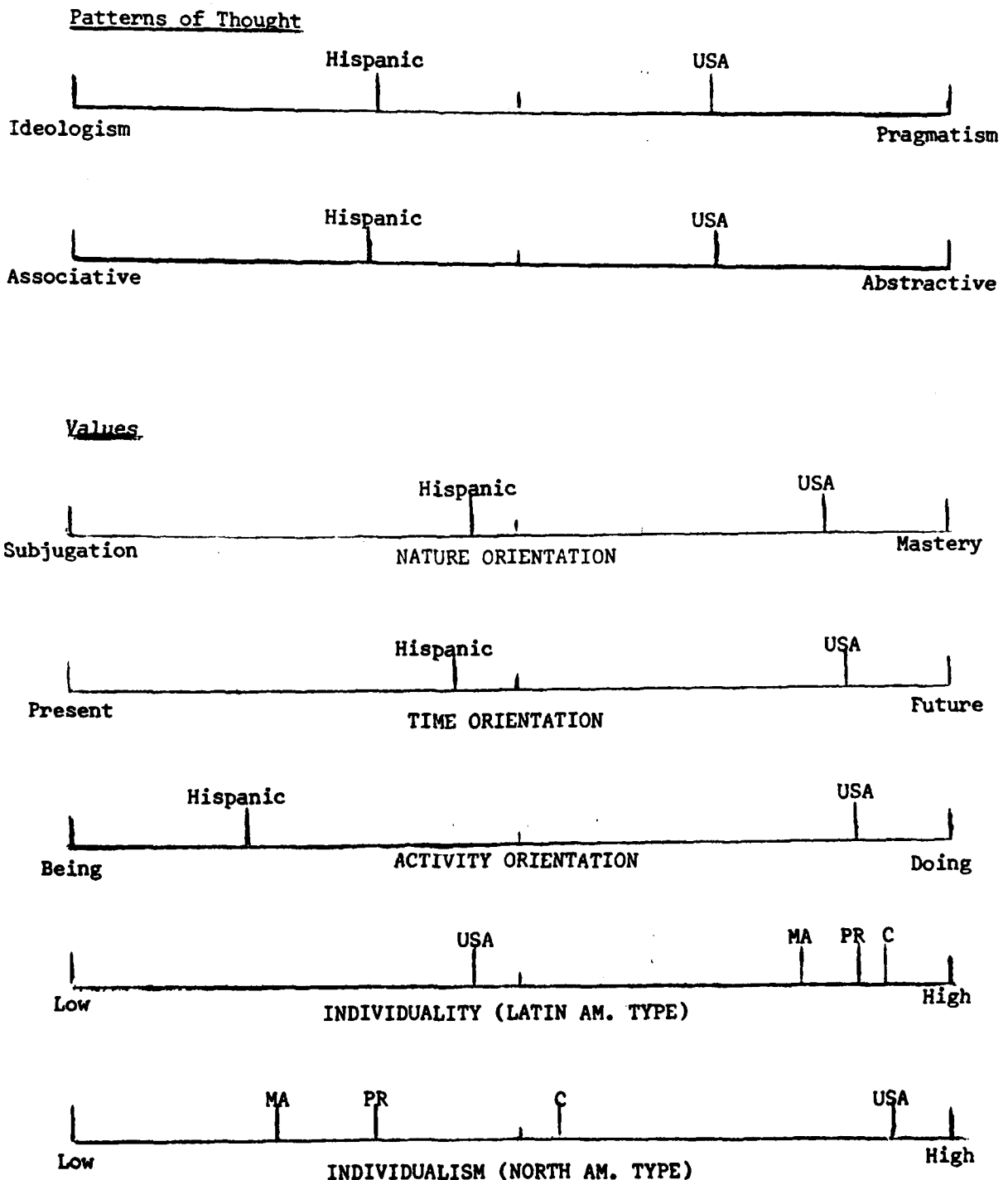
Other than Fox's (1971) article, there is little direct discussion of Cuban American racial attitudes. Portes (1969:507) does point out that since the majority of Cuban emigres were white this has helped "structural" assimilation in the United States.

There is also little discussion in the literature on Cuban attitudes toward Anglo Blacks. Perez (1980:260) does note, however, that the private schools of the Miami Cubans were organized in part to avoid contact with Blacks: "Whenever possible they prefer to avoid schools with a high percentage of blacks."

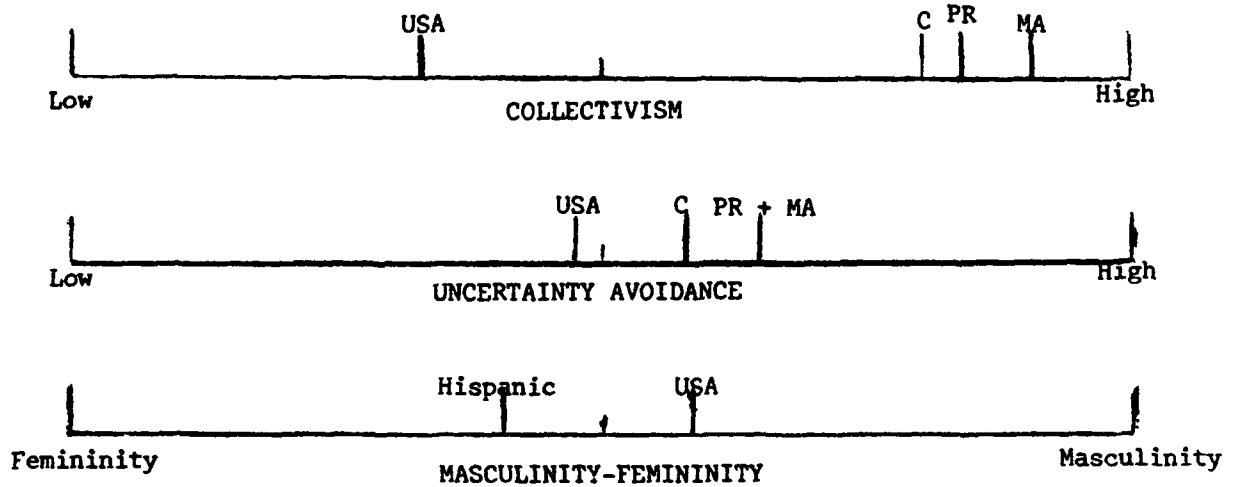
In summary, it appears that Cuban racial attitudes and perceptions are similar to those described for Puerto Rico, particularly in terms of the emphasis on physical appearance, the absence of legal discrimination and the confounding of class with race. However, Cuban society is generally described as more discriminatory than Puerto Rican society.

The literature that has been reviewed in the previous pages is so voluminous and variable that it may help the reader if we provided a graphic summary of this literature. Table 5 is an attempt to guess at the reader's impression of the dimensions after reading this report and constitutes a summary of the review.

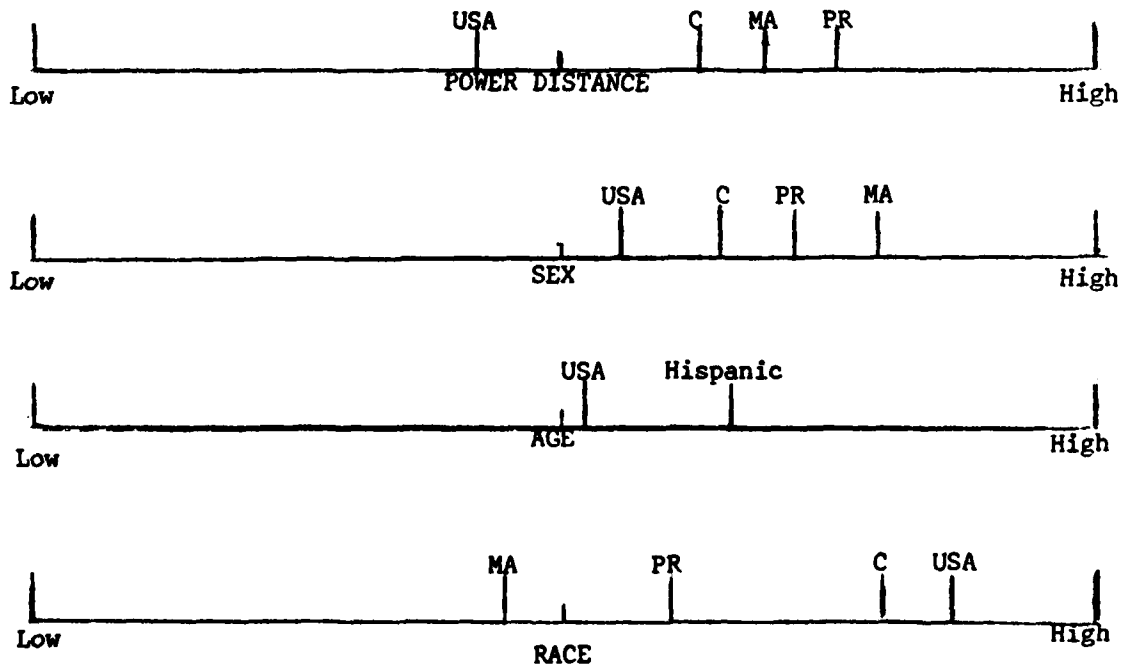
Table 5 Reader's Impressions of Rankings



Values



Social Differentiations



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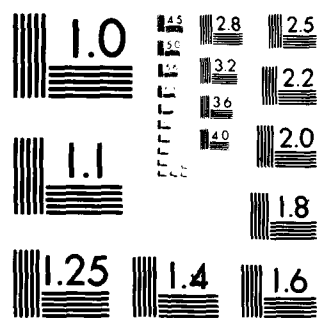
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